

The
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The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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The American Navy as a Factor in World Politics, 1903-1913

SEWARD W. LIVERMORE

I

EARLY in April, 1903, President Theodore Roosevelt embarked upon an extensive tour of the United States, one purpose of which was to discuss his policies, both foreign and domestic, as they might affect his chances of election the following year. The President had just concluded the Venezuelan incident to his satisfaction, but the obstreperous conduct of the German Navy in the course of the blockade had created alarm and resentment throughout the country. A war scare of some proportions had ensued and was raging in the press when he entrained for the West.¹ Irritated by Germany's aggressive

¹ For war scare articles, see *New York Times*, Mar. 7, 20, 22, 28, 1903. The climax came on March 28 when Admiral Dewey informed the press that the recent fleet maneuvers in the Caribbean had been an object lesson to the kaiser and that the efficiency of the German Navy was greatly overrated. The German press retorted furiously that Germany had nothing to fear from Dewey's fleet, which was a collection of antiquated vessels of no particular fighting value. In his Chicago speech Roosevelt sought to calm the furor and indirectly rebuked Dewey by deploring boastful speaking among nations. The German ambassador, Speck von Sternburg, in a speech at Hartford, Connecticut, on April 3, also tried to smooth over the situation by praising the American Navy and stressing the cordial relations between the two countries. Chicago

behavior and anxious to impress upon the public the necessity for his ambitious program of naval expansion, Roosevelt opened his tour at Chicago on April 2 with a lively and vigorous interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine.² The speech is remembered chiefly for his employment of an old African aphorism, "Speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far," the appositeness of which to the Venezuelan affair was immediately appreciated. In time the Big Stick became popularly identified with Roosevelt's entire foreign policy, especially in connection with his handling of the incessant troubles in the Caribbean area. The term acquires added significance, however, from an examination of a lesser known and hitherto neglected phase of Rooseveltian diplomacy in the sphere of European power politics.

With a rapidly growing navy at his disposal, the President in 1903 broadened the concept of hemispheric defense implicit in the Monroe Doctrine and established a pattern of naval-diplomatic activity on its behalf that was new in American experience and significant in relation to the international rivalries then moving the world toward the catastrophe of 1914. The successful naval concentration at Culebra during the Venezuelan blockade had strengthened Roosevelt in the conviction that this was the only form of diplomatic approach that Germany, or any other power for that matter, would respect. It was not enough, however, to checkmate Germany at the threshold of the American continent, and he evolved a cautious but consistent policy of containing this potential threat to hemispheric security by indicating where American preference lay with regard to the system of European alliances or ententes then in existence or in the process of development.

In 1903 the Anglo-French Entente was in the formative stage and the encirclement of Germany had begun. Both these movements had the tacit approval of the Roosevelt administration, which proceeded to use the Navy in a manner clearly indicating its preference. Heretofore American aloofness from foreign entanglements had afforded no occasion to engage in the elaborate exchange of naval courtesies that generally heralded the consolidation of such alliances.³ American naval policy now tended to fall more and

Tribune, Mar. 29-31, Apr. 3, 4, 1903; *Literary Digest*, XXVI (Apr. 25, 1903), 629. Such foreign criticism of American naval proficiency always stung Roosevelt. His desire to show the world that the United States was unparalleled in that respect was a factor in his constant dispatch of American fleets and squadrons to foreign waters in the ensuing years.

² Elting E. Morison, ed., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* (8 vols., Boston, 1951-54), III, 548; *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt* (14 vols., New York, n.d.), I, 266.

³ The visit of a Russian naval squadron to Toulon in October, 1893, for example, foreshadowed the Franco-Russian Alliance of January 4, 1894. Arthur J. Marder, *The Anatomy of British Sea Power: A History of British Naval Policy in the Pre-Dreadnought Era, 1880-1905* (New York, 1940), p. 178.

more into the pattern of European practice in this respect. The appearance of American warships in European ports took on a political meaning unconnected with the traditional duties of promoting American commerce and protecting American property.⁴ American naval authorities, obsessed by fears of German aggression, made little attempt to conceal their partiality for the Anglo-French combination. American squadrons had their itineraries so obviously arranged to avoid German ports that the calculated omission kept alive the chronic irritation between the two countries and increased the diplomatic frictions of that era.

The United States European squadron of four cruisers received orders on March 20, 1903, to participate in the celebration at Marseilles honoring the return of President Émile Loubet from Algiers,⁵ an event that signaled the extension of French influence in North Africa, presaged the creation of the Anglo-French Entente, and greatly upset the Germans.⁶ Early in April the squadron rendezvoused at Villefranche to await the arrival of a new commander-in-chief, Rear Admiral Charles S. Cotton, whom President Roosevelt had personally delegated to congratulate Loubet, in the name of the American people, upon the occasion of his triumphal tour of France's North African possessions.⁷

Cotton took his cruisers to Marseilles on April 30 for the ceremonies, which were very elaborate and marked by great enthusiasm on both sides. The admiral and his staff boarded the French warship *Jeanne d'Arc* for presentation to Loubet, members of the French cabinet, and other high-ranking officials, after which everyone went ashore for a full week of festivities. As the guest of the French government, Cotton traveled to Paris in the presidential entourage and was conspicuously present at the series of brilliant entertainments accorded King Edward VII, then on his way home from a tour of the Mediterranean in the interests of British diplomacy. At the Opéra and the Théâtre Français, and later on at the race track, the admiral occupied the same box with the king and the president.⁸ The prominent position given him at the various state banquets elicited much comment from the press.⁹

⁴ When the armored cruiser squadron on its way to the Far East in 1906 made a routine call at Piraeus, the Greek press at once ascribed a political motive to the visit, in connection with the Balkan situation. Rear Admiral Willard B. Brownson to Navy Department, Oct. 3, 1906; John B. Jackson to Root, Oct. 6, 1906, Area 4 File, Box 39, Navy Department Archives, National Archives (hereafter cited NDA).

⁵ Bureau of Navigation to Captain James H. Dayton, Mar. 20, 1903; Dayton to Secretary of the Navy, Apr. 17, 1903, Box 37, *ibid.*

⁶ *London Times*, Apr. 11, 14, 16, 1903.

⁷ Hay to Moody, Apr. 25, 1903, Area 4 File, Box 37, NDA.

⁸ Cotton noted in his report, which covers the events from the time he took command until his return from the Paris celebrations, that at the banquet he occupied "the eighth seat to the left of King Edward." Cotton to Navy Department, May 19, 1903, *ibid.*

⁹ Porter to Hay, May 5, 1903 (State Department enclosure), *ibid.*

Both Loubet and Foreign Minister Delcassé were effusive in expressing their gratitude and appreciation of Roosevelt's motives in dispatching the squadron and of the beneficial effect upon Franco-American relations.¹⁰

Germany watched the celebrations at Marseilles and Paris with close interest, and the honors accorded the American admiral did not pass unnoticed. The kaiser in particular found them little to his liking, because he had already invited the American fleet to visit Germany and Roosevelt had rather brusquely declined the invitation.¹¹ The Navy Department had laid out an extensive program of spring maneuvers for the North Atlantic squadron, involving the descent of the main battle fleet upon the Azores, the occupation of which upon an outbreak of war was deemed essential to forestall a German attack on South America.¹² Since this could not very well be explained to the kaiser and the Navy Department refused to alter the schedule of the European squadron to include a visit to German ports, the situation threatened to develop into a diplomatic contretemps of some proportions.

When German Chancellor von Bülow "expressed himself strongly" to the American ambassador concerning the nonappearance of American warships in German ports and renewed the invitation to the Navy to be present at the annual Regatta Week at Kiel during which the emperor staged a grand review of the German fleet, Tower cabled from Berlin:

So much has been said lately in the European newspapers about this naval visit that if the squadron should not come now, it would appear to give foundation to the report so diligently spread abroad that the President is not friendly to Germany and has simply refused the Emperor's invitation. I have discovered an extreme sensitiveness on this point which has not been openly acknowledged heretofore, but which is unquestionable now, and has probably been increased by the

¹⁰ On April 30 Loubet sent Roosevelt a telegram to this effect, whereupon the latter, thinking it was the North Atlantic squadron to which Loubet had referred, immediately wired Hay asking what it meant and directing him not to let the fleet alter arrangements without the President's sanction. *Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, III, 473. Morison adds a misleading comment (p. 473, fn. 1) that the squadron at Roosevelt's direction did alter its plans and touch at a continental port, thus confusing it with the European squadron. Jusserand, the French ambassador, reported the movement correctly, saying that the North Atlantic squadron, then on maneuvers toward the Azores, would not continue to Europe. Jusserand to Delcassé, tel. No. 68, no date but received in the Foreign Ministry Apr. 14, 1903, *Documents Diplomatiques Français (1871-1914)*, 2° Ser. (1901-1911), (Paris, 1931), III, 430 fn. 1.

¹¹ Tower to Hay, Mar. 25, 1903, conveying the emperor's invitation for Regatta Week; Hay to Tower, Mar. 26, 1903, refusing the invitation because the cruise of the fleet "having been undertaken for purposes of drill and discipline, it is not thought expedient that it shall visit the European mainland," Department of State, Despatches, Vol. 76 (Germany), State Department Archives, National Archives (hereafter cited as SDA). Boston *Evening Transcript*, Mar. 26, 1903, and New York *Times*, Mar. 26, 1903, reported Roosevelt had declined Von Sternburg's invitation because the General Board had set the Azores as the limit of the fleet's cruise. The French press said the refusal was a "bitter pill" for the kaiser. *Literary Digest*, XXVI (Apr. 25, 1903), 624-26.

¹² Moody to Roosevelt, Apr. 22, 1903, File 16088, Office of the Secretary of the Navy (hereafter cited OSN), NDA; Moody to Rear Admiral Albert N. Barker, June 6, 1903, Area 4 File, Box 37, NDA. Barker commanded the North Atlantic squadron.

recent visit of the squadron to Marseille. This has become a matter of serious international importance.¹³

When this aspect of the matter was called to his attention, Roosevelt denounced the German attitude as "puerile" but grudgingly agreed to a modification in plans, in order, as he said, "to save Speck's head"; Speck was the new German ambassador whom the President esteemed highly.¹⁴ He still would not send the North Atlantic squadron but instead ordered the battleship *Kearsarge*, the latest addition to the Navy, detached from the main fleet for a special trip to Europe.¹⁵ Besides appeasing the kaiser, it would show the Germans, always skeptical of American naval proficiency, what the United States could produce in the way of up-to-date naval power. On June 16 Rear Admiral Cotton hoisted his flag in the *Kearsarge* at Southampton, whence it proceeded with the cruisers of the European squadron to Kiel, where Wilhelm II and the Imperial Navy received the Americans with unprecedented honors.¹⁶

Reactions in the United States to these manifestations of the Roosevelt policy were somewhat mixed. Many newspapers criticized the administration for stirring up international ill feeling. "As the matter now stands," said the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, "the naval visit in honor of Loubet will be taken as a spontaneous demonstration of American good will, while the visit to Kiel will seem to all Germans merely an afterthought—a belated attempt to repair a diplomatic blunder."¹⁷ On the other hand, the Anglophile press exhibited an astonishing rancor in reporting the reception to the American warships. The New York *Times* sneered at the unreality of the "naval love feast" at Kiel and charged the German authorities with having forced the visit from ulterior motives in order to inspect firsthand the latest technical devices on the American vessels. "When we contemplate the actual employment in war of our navy," said the *Times*, "Germany is the power which we naturally associate with the notion of such employment. Jealousy, distrust, hostile criticism, these are the conditions of mind each service arouses in the other. These are not emotional states favorable to 'fraternization.'"¹⁸

This accusation of spying, which received widespread attention in the

¹³ Tower to Hay, May 11, 1903, File 16129, OSN, NDA.

¹⁴ Roosevelt to Hay, May 22, 1903, in *Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, III, 478. The German press was bitterly attacking Von Sternburg for his close relations with Roosevelt and blaming him for the low opinion of Germany in the United States. *Literary Digest*, XXVI (May 30, 1903), 796-97.

¹⁵ Moody to Rear Admiral Henry C. Taylor, May 20, 1903, Moody Papers, Library of Congress.

¹⁶ *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States* (Washington, 1903), pp. 448-51.

¹⁷ Apr. 20, 1903. See also for example, *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 19, 21, 1903.

¹⁸ June 28, 1903. See also *Literary Digest*, XXVII (July 25, 1903), 96-97.

press,¹⁹ led Admiral Cotton in his report to deny that the emperor on his visit to the *Kearsarge* had been shown the turrets, the magazines, the ammunition hoists, or the engine room.²⁰ Consequently, the affair did nothing to improve German-American relations, although the kaiser and his brother, Prince Henry of Prussia, the commander-in-chief of the Imperial Navy, went to great lengths to show Cotton signal honors and to make the sojourn a pleasant one for all concerned. The French ambassador, who had observed the ceremonies at Kiel with some anxiety, concluded that the German public had remained skeptical of the friendliness of the demonstration and that, beyond flattering the German naval authorities, nothing had been accomplished by the appearance of the American warships.²¹

The British also exhibited alarm at the kaiser's efforts to win American friendship. When the Foreign Office learned that the squadron was going to Kiel, it intimated to the chargé in London that the effect upon British opinion would be most unfortunate unless the vessels stopped first at a British port.²² Roosevelt made no difficulty about this change in the schedule or about King Edward's subsequent invitation to the squadron to participate in the naval review at Portsmouth celebrating President Loubet's official return visit to London in July.²³ The Americans were received at Portsmouth and later in London with a spontaneity and fervor lacking at Kiel. At the lord mayor's banquet as well as at the royal banquet at Buckingham Palace, the king expressed his cordial approval of the Monroe Doctrine, and Admiral Cotton reciprocated by declaring that American love for England had been borne across the ocean by his warships.²⁴ The Anglophile press reported all this with great approval; the *New York Times* of July 9, 1903, declared that "When bonds of interest and amity draw Great Britain, France and the United States closer together, the peace of the world is made more secure and liberal progress is better assured."

Cotton's diplomatic mission ended with the return of the *Kearsarge* to

¹⁹ *London Times*, July 1, 1903; *New York Herald*, June 29, 1903.

²⁰ Cotton to Navy Department, D-82, July 6, 1903, Area 4 File, Box 36, NDA.

²¹ Prinnet to Delcassé, No. 334, July 4, 1903, *Documents Diplomatiques Français*, p. 430.

²² White to Hay, No. 41, June 3, 1903, Department of State, Despatches, Vol. 207 (Great Britain), SDA.

²³ Hay to Moody, June 8, 1903, that Roosevelt had ordered the squadron to touch at British ports, Moody Papers; White to Hay, No. 44, June 10, 1903, and No. 43, June 14, 1903, conveying the king's invitation, Department of State, Despatches, Vol. 207 (Great Britain), SDA; *London Times*, June 17, 1903.

²⁴ Cotton to Navy Department, D-100, July 21, 1903, Area 4 File, Box 37, NDA. Another eyewitness account of the festivities appears in Emily Bax, *Miss Bax of the Embassy* (Boston, 1939), pp. 54-55. The French press speculated that as a result of these naval visits the United States might abandon its policy of isolation and if it did not join the alliance would at least act in concert with France and England to solve world problems. *Literary Digest*, XXVII (Aug. 15, 1903), 205.

the United States after the British ceremonies. His reports indicate that he had been charmed by the French, correct with the Germans, and overwhelmed by the British. No other American admiral had ever represented his country at functions of such far-reaching political significance, although at the time probably neither he nor Roosevelt fully understood their import for the future. Thereafter, until relieved of his command in February, 1904, the admiral directed his diplomatic talents toward supporting the State Department's efforts to obtain better treatment for American citizens in the Turkish empire. Roosevelt, informed of the reported murder of an American vice-consul in Smyrna, sent Cotton's squadron dashing eastward in August, 1903, to lend a show of force to Minister John G. A. Leishman's demands upon the Porte.²⁵ The vice-consul turned up unharmed, however, and the Turks refused to negotiate as long as American warships remained in Turkish waters. At the insistence of Hay, who did not always agree with Roosevelt on the efficacy of force in dealing with diplomatic problems, the squadron was finally withdrawn in January, 1904, whereupon the sultan renewed his earlier promises and then promptly forgot them.²⁶

The year 1904 saw a marked acceleration of American naval activity in the Mediterranean. In May Roosevelt sent the North Atlantic fleet of six battleships and eight cruisers into that area, the first large-scale demonstration of American naval power outside home waters.²⁷ His motive in keeping this large assemblage of warships in the vicinity of Gibraltar for the next three months puzzled everyone, particularly the Europeans. There were rumors that the concentration had a direct connection with the Russo-Japanese War, which had broken out in February. In the not unlikely event of the conflict's spreading to the other great powers, the Navy was in a strategic position to intervene in almost any direction.²⁸ A renewal at this time of the Turkish troubles also gave the protracted cruise the aspect of an additional flourish of the Big Stick.²⁹ When it became necessary to send the European squadron to Smyrna again in August, the fleet's departure from Gibraltar

²⁵ Navy Department to Cotton, Aug. 28, 1903; Cotton to Navy Department, Oct. 22, 1903, Area 4 File, Box 37, NDA; Roosevelt to Hay, Sept. 11, 1903, that it was out of the question to withdraw the ships unless satisfaction were given, in *Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, III, 596.

²⁶ Leishman to Hay, Jan. 17, 1904; Moody to Hay, Jan. 20, 1904; Cotton to Navy Department, Jan. 27, 1904, Area 4 File, Box 37, NDA.

²⁷ Moody to Hay, Feb. 20, 1904, *ibid.* The fleet's arrival coincided with the kidnaping of an American citizen by a Moroccan bandit chief; several ships were detached for a demonstration at Tangier in connection with Roosevelt's flamboyant demand for "Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead." Hay to Moody, May 28, 1904; Rear Admiral Theodore F. Jewell to Moody, May 28, 1904, *ibid.*

²⁸ *Army and Navy Journal*, XLI (June 18, 1904), 1095. The Navy Department insisted there were no grounds for such speculation and regretted that the friendly nature of the visit had been misunderstood.

²⁹ "The Turks and the 'Big Stick,'" *Literary Digest*, XXIX (Aug. 20, 1904), 218-19.

was delayed several days until the *Porte* yielded to Leishman's demands, and the press assailed Roosevelt for manifesting a new brand of imperialism.³⁰

Of further interest from a diplomatic standpoint was the visit of Rear Admiral Robley D. Evans to Italian ports in the flagship *Kentucky* on his way home from the Asiatic station. The appearance in the Mediterranean at that juncture of this major unit, which had been detached from the rather small American naval force in the Far East, lent support to the view that Roosevelt was more concerned with possible European developments, since the main Russian fleet was still in the Baltic.³¹ In any case, the admiral's arrival at Naples late in April coincided with the state visit of President Loubet to King Victor Emanuel III in pursuance of the French policy of detaching Italy from the Triple Alliance.³² Evans received the same red-carpet treatment that had been accorded Cotton in Paris and London, an elaborate round of dinners and entertainments, after which the king inspected the flagship and said flattering things about the Navy and Roosevelt.³³ This mark of Roosevelt's esteem visibly impressed the Italians and probably gratified the French as well.

The next year, 1905, was conspicuous for the exchange of ceremonial visits by the fleets of the United States, France, and Great Britain.³⁴ In June a division of the North Atlantic fleet brought back the remains of John Paul Jones from an obscure grave in Paris to a splendid crypt at Annapolis.³⁵ France sent a cruiser squadron to the Annapolis ceremonies, and the administration made the most of the occasion to promote the importance of

³⁰ *Army and Navy Journal*, XLI (Aug. 20, 1904), 1315; "A European Flurry over Mr. Roosevelt's World Politics," *Literary Digest*, XXIX (Sept. 10, 1904), 329, which quotes *Hamburger Nachrichten* as complaining that the United States "takes every opportunity to obtrude into European concerns" and *Figaro* as claiming that Roosevelt was pushing a new imperialism and "his repeated interventions in European politics singularly flatter Yankee jingoism." When the fleet visited Portugal, the German press accused the United States of intriguing for a naval base in the Azores. *Army and Navy Journal*, XLI (July 16, 1904), 1195.

³¹ For Roosevelt's antipathy to the Russians and his bellicosity over Russian interference with neutral trade with China, see Howard K. Beale, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Rise of America to World Power* (Baltimore, Md., 1956), p. 264.

³² Germany generally viewed such visits in this light, as the naval attaché in Berlin reported on the occasion of King Edward's visit to Italy in 1907. W. L. Howard to Rodgers, Apr. 26, 1907, Area 4 File, Box 39, NDA.

³³ Evans to Navy Department, May 2, 1904, Area 4 File, Box 38, NDA; *Army and Navy Journal*, XLI (May 21, 1904), 991.

³⁴ Early in 1905 Admiral Lord Charles Beresford visited the United States and spent several days with the fleet, which he found not up to British standards in many ways, although he was impressed by the zeal of the officers and the great respect shown for the British Navy. Both the British ambassador in Washington and the naval attaché urged closer cooperation between the two navies in a proposal endorsed by King Edward and forwarded to the Admiralty. Marder, *Anatomy of British Sea Power*, pp. 445-46.

³⁵ Rear Admiral R. D. Evans to Navy Department, July 9, 1905, Operations of Fleets, Squadrons, Flotillas and Divisions, North Atlantic Station, 1903-1906, Box 18, NDA; Rear Admiral Charles D. Sigsbee to Navy Department, July 1, 1905, regarding the Paris ceremonies, Area 4 File, Box 39, NDA.

the Navy as a factor in world politics. Later that summer France and England officially concluded their entente by a naval demonstration in force in each other's ports.³⁶ No American warship attended this event, since the Navy Department was engrossed in reorganizing the fleet in home waters and Roosevelt may have felt under some obligation for the kaiser's cooperation in bringing the Russo-Japanese War to an end. In October the centenary of Trafalgar evoked enthusiasm in this country, with Admiral of the Fleet Sir Edward Seymour officially representing the British Navy.³⁷ The Admiralty followed up Seymour's successful visit by sending the crack Second Cruiser squadron to the United States under Prince Louis of Battenberg, another admiral of proven diplomatic ability and even more illustrious social connections. The lavish entertainment accorded Battenberg, his officers, and men exceeded anything of a similar character hitherto attempted on this side of the Atlantic.³⁸ The press overflowed with the same sentiment that had marked the 1903 celebrations in England, and a feeling prevailed that these brilliant events presaged another naval-diplomatic coup on Roosevelt's part.³⁹

The President's purpose in all this hands-across-the-sea activity became apparent at the Algeiras Conference. In January, 1906, this important gathering of European diplomats met to settle the status of Morocco, which had been challenged by Germany, and to avert a possible war over the kaiser's insistence on some *quid pro quo* in the matter of French control. While Roosevelt was primarily concerned with maintaining world peace, his advisers were worried about German aspirations to a seaport on the Atlantic coast of Morocco that would be useful as a naval base for operations against South America.⁴⁰ A few weeks before the conference met, Whitelaw Reid, the ambassador in London, had urged upon the President the necessity of cooperating with France and England at Algeiras in view of the kaiser's well-known desire for a coaling station in northwestern Africa.⁴¹ The United States had a strategic interest, therefore, in seeing that the German government did not get control of the port of Casablanca.⁴²

³⁶ Stockton to Rodgers, Aug. 15, 1905, Case 271, General Correspondence, Office of Naval Intelligence (hereafter cited GC, ONI), NDA. Stockton, the naval attaché, attended all the ceremonies.

³⁷ Edward H. Seymour, *My Naval Career* (London, 1911), p. 388.

³⁸ Mark Kerr, *Prince Louis of Battenberg* (London, 1934), p. 191.

³⁹ See, for example, *Army and Navy Journal*, XLIII (Nov. 11, 1905), 299.

⁴⁰ The American press claimed that the demand of Von Bülow and the kaiser for exclusive control of the police in western Morocco was a thinly disguised attempt to acquire a naval base there. *New York Tribune*, Dec. 24, 1905, Jan. 7, 1906.

⁴¹ Royal Cortissoz, *The Life of Whitelaw Reid* (2 vols., New York, 1921), II, 328.

⁴² Allan Nevins, *Henry White: Thirty Years of American Diplomacy* (New York, 1930), pp. 276-80.

What gave American participation in the conference unique emphasis was Roosevelt's employment of the Navy in connection with it. Late in December he sent the third division of the North Atlantic fleet under Rear Admiral Charles D. Sigsbee to Gibraltar, where Sir Edward Chichester, the naval commandant there and a friend of Admiral Dewey from Manila Bay days, sumptuously entertained the American officers and conference delegates.⁴³ This fraternization created much comment in the press; of the banquet tendered by the British admiral, it was said that "It is expected that this dinner will give occasion for an exchange of amenities and that it will have additional significance coming on the eve of the Conference."⁴⁴ The European press voiced surprise at the presence of American warships close to the scene of the discussion and speculated on the extent to which the United States was prepared to go in backing the Entente in the event of trouble with Germany.⁴⁵ It was a new departure in American foreign policy, surpassing even standard European practice in this respect, and it was Roosevelt's last significant naval gesture on behalf of his Anglo-French friends.⁴⁶

II

In the meantime, the political situation in the Far East had altered considerably as a result of Japan's victory over Russia in 1905. The United States now had to watch not only naval developments in Germany but the rising sea power of Japan in the Orient. When relations with Japan became aggravated in 1906 over the exclusion of Orientals from the San Francisco schools, the resultant war scare impelled the administration to send the entire fleet into the Pacific for the first time and thence around the world. The diplomatic significance attached to this famous voyage has obscured the fact that it was perhaps more in the nature of a practice cruise than a flourish of the Big Stick. The recent Russian naval catastrophe had been a universal object lesson in gross incompetence, and fears of a second Tsushima haunted the President. "I do not intend," he said, "to keep [the fleet] in the Pacific

⁴³ Sigsbee to Navy Department, Jan. 14, 1906, reporting much concern among British naval officers over the possibility of war, Area 4 File, Box 39, NDA. *Army and Navy Journal*, XLIII (Jan. 20, 1906), 571, said the prevailing sentiment of the toasts and speeches was "Hands clasped across the sea draw hearts closer together."

⁴⁴ Boston *Evening Transcript*, Jan. 12, 15, 1906.

⁴⁵ Cited in New York *Tribune*, Jan. 6, 1906.

⁴⁶ In the summer of 1907 a special service squadron of armored cruisers under Rear Admiral Charles H. Stockton visited the International Exhibition at Bordeaux and later other French ports. The admiral and his staff were feted in Paris by President Clément Fallières, the cabinet, and high military and naval officers in a round of entertainments reminiscent of the 1903 festivities. Stockton to Navy Department, July 1, 1907, July 26, 1907, Area 4 File, Box 39, NDA.

any length of time, but I want all failures, blunders and shortcomings to be made apparent in time of peace and not in time of war."⁴⁷

Extended lines of communication and lack of adequate naval bases made a war in the Pacific out of the question for many years. Roosevelt preferred to freeze the situation in the Far East by secret diplomatic agreements and to keep the fleet in the neighborhood of the Caribbean, where naval authorities feared Germany meant to challenge the United States over the Monroe Doctrine at the first opportunity.⁴⁸ A new factor in this situation was the introduction of the dreadnought and the substitution of fuel oil for coal, which gave these new warships a much greater cruising radius and about doubled the distance a fleet could operate from its principal base. In 1909 Admiral Mahan called the attention of the Office of Naval Intelligence to the greater opportunities thus offered the kaiser to meddle in the affairs of the American continent.⁴⁹ Investigation disclosed the fact that the battleships of the *Nassau* class could steam six thousand miles at a ten knot speed, which would take them with ease to the West Indies and back.⁵⁰ The widely publicized voyage of the battle cruiser *Von der Tann*, the pride of the German Navy, around South America early in 1911 made it clear that the width of the Atlantic Ocean was no longer a barrier against a European aggressor.⁵¹

During the Taft administration the European crisis worsened. Great Britain and Germany sharpened their naval rivalry, France and Germany were again at loggerheads over Morocco, and the rumblings of war grew more ominous. Taft for the most part pursued the foreign policies of his predecessor. Although no friendlier to German naval and colonial pretensions,⁵² he was less disposed to maintain the precarious balance of power by spectacular diplomatic gestures. Nevertheless, in December, 1910, he allowed the Navy Department to send the entire Atlantic fleet of four divisions, a far more powerful array than had gone around the world, on an extended visit to French and British ports.⁵³ While there is no evidence that Taft in-

⁴⁷ H. C. Lodge, ed., *Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, 1884-1918* (2 vols., New York, 1925), II, 274. See also "The Cruise of the United States Atlantic Fleet," a journal kept by the commander-in-chief, Rear Admiral Charles S. Sperry, Letters 1906-1907, Sperry Papers, Library of Congress.

⁴⁸ Sperry to Oscar Straus, Feb. 7, 1907, Sperry Papers.

⁴⁹ Mahan to Rodgers, Mar. 29, 1909, Case 9998, GC, ONI, NDA.

⁵⁰ Vreeland to Howard, May 13, 1909, Case 10042, *ibid*.

⁵¹ The Navy Department, concerned over the favorable impression the Germans might make, immediately sent its newest dreadnought on a similar trip as a counterattraction. Memorandum for the Secretary of the Navy, Feb. 27, 1911, Case 11709, *ibid*.

⁵² *Taft and Roosevelt, the Intimate Letters of Archie Butt, Military Aide* (2 vols., New York, 1930), II, 671-72.

⁵³ The original intention was to send the fleet to the Mediterranean, but the appearance of cholera in that area caused a switch in plans. Meyer to Knox, June 2, 1910; Winthrop to Knox, July 15, 1910; Winthrop to Knox, Oct. 13, 1910; Meyer to Knox, Nov. 30, 1910, File 811.3340 /1, 9, 16, 31, Box 7511, Decimal File 1910-1929, SDA (hereafter cited as File 811.3340).

tended this as a demonstration on behalf of Anglo-Saxon solidarity or as a deterrent to any sudden move the kaiser might contemplate against the Anglo-French Entente, it was so interpreted in many quarters, and the diplomatic repercussions were no less interesting.

Two of the divisions anchored at Portsmouth and Gravesend, the other two at Cherbourg and Brest, the anchorages being interchanged every two weeks until each of the sixteen ships had visited every port. The French reception was cordial, but in London the enthusiasm recalled that of 1903 and moved one of the American officers at the Guildhall banquet to pledge his country's last dollar and last drop of blood in defense of the British empire.⁵⁴ While Commander Sims's remarks did no more than restate somewhat emotionally the position held by American naval authorities for over a decade, their publication embarrassed the Taft administration, which could not openly endorse such sentiments however much it might sympathize with them. The incident was widely reported with much ill feeling in the German press, but what irked the imperial government more than the Sims outburst was the Navy Department's failure to include Germany in the itinerary of the fleet.⁵⁵

The American press, recalling that American warships customarily spent the winter months in the Caribbean, expressed surprise at the dispatch of the fleet to Europe at that season and criticized the administration's partiality for the French and British.⁵⁶ The naval authorities explained somewhat lamely that German ports had been omitted because the North Sea and the Baltic were not pleasant winter cruising grounds; moreover, heavy clothing had not been issued to the crews. Nevertheless, as a concession to German sensibilities, the Navy Department arranged to have the Naval Academy training squadron visit Kiel in the summer of 1911 on its annual cruise. Since these vessels were the oldest battleships in the Navy, taken temporarily from the reserve for that purpose, this gesture only heightened German annoyance. The naval attaché in Berlin immediately protested that the effect would be doubly unfortunate inasmuch as the new dreadnought *Delaware* was to represent the United States that summer at King George V's corona-

⁵⁴ Reid to Knox, Dec. 21, 1910, File 811.3340/33, SDA; *Army and Navy Journal*, XLVIII (Dec. 24, 1910), 471.

⁵⁵ The German press claimed the itinerary had been drawn up by President Taft and approved by the cabinet. Dillingham to Knox, Dec. 22, 1910, File 811.3340/32, SDA. There is some confirmation of this in a Navy Department memorandum of November 19, 1910, File 811.3340/29, in reply to the first attacks on the administration. The department denied that the cruise had any political implications and asserted that the decision on the itinerary was its own "except insofar as it may have been the subject of a conference in a cabinet meeting."

⁵⁶ "Our Naval Snub to Germany," *Literary Digest*, XLI (Dec. 3, 1910), 1030; *New York Sun*, Nov. 19, 1910; *Boston Evening Transcript*, Nov. 21, 1910, Dec. 22, 1910; *New York Herald*, Jan. 17, 1911.

tion naval review at Spithead.⁵⁷ "The Germans," he pointed out,

are an ultra-sensitive people very prone to take offense where none is intended, and, as we know, they did take offense at the failure of any of our ships to visit a German port during the time the Atlantic Fleet was in English and French harbors last November and December. The feeling aroused at that time was unfortunately aggravated by the Guildhall speech of Commander Sims, of which the Pan-German press made so much. . . . In the interest of international good feeling and for the sake of its full restoration, the selection of more modern ships, such as, for example, the vessels of the Armored Cruiser Squadron or one of the Divisions of the Battle Fleet would produce a better impression and have a better effect.⁵⁸

These representations had the desired result, and the Navy Department announced that the Second Division of the Atlantic fleet under Rear Admiral Charles J. Badger would visit Kiel that summer.⁵⁹ In order to avoid the appearance of making amends for a diplomatic blunder, the authorities added Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Libau (later changed to Kronstadt) to the itinerary. The Second Division consisted of the *New Hampshire*, *Louisiana*, *South Carolina*, and *Kansas*, none of them classed as dreadnoughts but all of fairly recent construction and therefore satisfactorily representative of American naval power and good will.

An American fleet had never visited Russia, and William W. Rockhill, the ambassador, felt it would not only please the Russians but do much to improve relations, which had been most unsatisfactory for several years.⁶⁰ Besides the friction created by the Jewish pogroms and American partiality for Japan in the late war, the Manchurian question was a bone of contention, since Russia had recently collaborated with Japan to shut American bankers out of a six-power loan by which the State Department hoped to expand American influence in that region.⁶¹ In spite of these difficulties, business circles close to the Taft administration felt that Russia itself might offer a profitable field for American enterprise.⁶² In reconstituting their shattered fleet the Russians had undertaken an ambitious construction program beyond the capacity of local shipyards to handle.⁶³ At the moment the United States

⁵⁷ Traut to Potts, Mar. 27, 1911, Case 11147, GC, ONI, NDA.

⁵⁸ Traut to Jackson, Mar. 28, 1911, *ibid.*

⁵⁹ Meyer to Knox, Mar. 31, 1911, *ibid.*

⁶⁰ Rockhill to Knox, No. 534, Apr. 26, 1911, *ibid.*

⁶¹ William A. Williams, *American-Russian Relations, 1781-1947* (New York, 1952), pp. 62-74.

⁶² A trip to Russia in 1910 by John Hays Hammond, industrial promoter and close friend of Taft, revealed great opportunities for American investors, Knox to Taft, Jan. 17, 1911, Taft Papers, Library of Congress.

⁶³ Guild to Knox, Aug. 22, 1911, *ibid.* Guild, a "dollar diplomat," found the opportunities for American business "simply enormous." He told Stolypin, the prime minister, that "Marion M. Smith of the American Shipbuilding Company has just arranged to put a million rubles into a Russian plant and this pleased him as evidence of the material advantage to Russia of American good will."

was engaged in a worldwide scramble for naval contracts,⁶⁴ and the presence of American warships served to promote that important phase of Secretary Knox's celebrated Dollar Diplomacy. In order to capitalize upon the visit, the State Department quickly replaced Rockhill with an ambassador better geared to the needs of American business.⁶⁵

The cruise of the Second Division to Baltic ports was an unqualified success. Immense crowds cheered the vessels upon their arrival at Copenhagen and Stockholm, and at Kiel the German emperor extended himself to entertain the admiral and his men in a gay round of sports, dances, and banquets.⁶⁶ At Kronstadt the tsar went aboard the flagship *Louisiana* and praised the fine appearance of the vessel. Nicholas II then informed the ambassador of his desire "to further the friendly relations between Russia and the United States, his wish being that they might be the same as existed at the time of the Civil War—that probably the best way of furthering a really friendly sentiment between the two nations was for the sailors of the two fleets to meet as frequently as possible and to get to know and to understand each other. . . . He then expressed the desire that our ships would come frequently and that in such event they would be warmly welcomed."⁶⁷

The Russian press was somewhat less cordial; most newspapers considered the visit in the nature of a half-hearted apology instead of a spontaneous gesture of friendship. The *Novoe Vremya* said:

During the autumn of last year the United States sent to Europe a fleet which visited English and French ports. Many construed the exclusive attention so paid to two European powers as a demonstration against other foreign powers whose ports were not visited by the American Fleet. In particular there was seen in this a desire on the part of the American Government to indirectly yet again confirm Anglo-American brotherhood. Such was the understanding even on the American vessels, one of whose officers delivered the notorious speech as to the readiness of the American people to sacrifice its last drop of blood in defense of the British people. At the present moment, in order to remove the depressing impression caused by last year's visit in particular on German public opinion, the Americans

⁶⁴ See my article "Battleship Diplomacy in South America, 1905-1925," *Journal of Modern History*, XVI (Mar., 1944), 40. The State and Navy Departments pushed hard for such contracts in Spain, Russia, Greece, Turkey, and China but had the most striking success in South America.

⁶⁵ Rockhill left Russia immediately after the fleet visit. Wheeler to Knox, No. 617, July 1, 1911, File 811.3340/77, SDA.

⁶⁶ Egan to Knox, No. 432, June 3, 1911, for the Danish reception; Hill to Knox, No. 988, July 1, 1911, for the German, File 811.3340/63, 76, SDA; *Army and Navy Journal*, XLVIII (June 17, 24, 1911), 1275, 1317. The kaiser and Taft also exchanged telegrams of mutual felicitation. File 811.3340/66, SDA.

⁶⁷ Hough to Vreeland, No. 107, Aug. 25, 1911, Case 10908, GC, ONI, NDA; Badger to Navy Department, June 18, 1911, File 811.3340/74, SDA. The Navy, instead of releasing Badger's report to the press, sent it to the State Department for action, since "the visit seems to some as having a bearing on our political relations with that nation." Chisholm to Knox, July 8, 1911, enclosed in Badger report.

are sending a fleet not to England but to the Baltic. The American Government during Mr. Roosevelt's term of office was especially hostile to Russia.⁶⁸

Unfortunately for the furtherance of friendly relations, whether by naval means or otherwise, a controversy developed over the Russian government's refusal to issue passports to American Jews. In December Congress abrogated the 1832 commercial treaty with Russia, and all hope of an informal entente or better understanding was shattered. The Russian government immediately canceled plans to send a squadron of warships to the United States. The head of the Navy, the Grand Duke Cyril, expressed to the ambassador "the deepest regret at the action of Congress and told me that Russia had made preparations to send a fleet to the United States with himself and the Grand Duchess as a return of the compliment paid by our fleet last spring. Our fleet made a splendid impression here and the young officers of the Navy are very desirous of making a trip to the United States. Until, however, a new treaty is formed, I was told by His Imperial Highness, no such visit could be carried out, greatly as he would like to do so."⁶⁹

After this, Russo-American relations lapsed again into a state of passive dislike and suspicion. Whatever political significance might have attached to the appearance of a Russian fleet in American ports in the summer of 1912, a grand duke and duchess would have made an impact on the public eclipsing that of the Civil War visit. Germany, on the other hand, returned the naval compliment that spring by sending the battle cruiser *Von Moltke*, which had no counterpart in speed and striking power in the American Navy.⁷⁰ Taft, who had none of Roosevelt's fondness for naval pageantry, bestirred himself in the interests of good will to board the German vessel in Hampton Roads and to telegraph his appreciation to the kaiser.⁷¹ The press for the most part minimized the good will aspect and pointed out that swiftly moving craft like these could cross the Atlantic and strike at the defenses of the Caribbean and the approaches to the Panama Canal before the slower American battle fleet could intercept them. The upshot of the *Von Moltke's* visit was to increase the clamor for adding such vessels to the American naval establishment.⁷²

⁶⁸ Translation of editorial in the May 6 edition, enclosed in Rockhill to Knox, No. 563, May 20, 1911, File 811.3340/67, SDA. For additional Russian press opinion, see Rockhill to Knox, No. 585, June 13, 1911, *ibid.* 75.

⁶⁹ Guild to Taft, Feb. 8, 1912, Taft Papers.

⁷⁰ Niblack to Potts, Jan. 29, Mar. 14, 1912, Case 10821, GC, ONI, NDA; Memorandum for Secretary of the Navy, Aug. 30, 1912, File 4581-126, OSN, NDA.

⁷¹ New York *Tribune*, June 4, 5, 1912.

⁷² "Pride of Our Navy Outclassed," Washington *Post* editorial, June 1, 1912; "The Nations' Navies," New York *Tribune* editorial complaining that the Germans were rapidly outbuilding the United States, June 24, 1912.

Amid gathering war clouds the tenth anniversary of the Anglo-French Entente was celebrated in 1913 by a state visit to England of President Raymond Poincaré. The British assembled a vast concourse of battleships, cruisers, and auxiliaries off Portsmouth to greet the French squadron accompanying Poincaré, a display of naval might that the press felt would not be lost upon Berlin.⁷³ While no American warships shared in this spectacle, the Wilson administration had scarcely assumed office before it announced the dispatch of the battle fleet on a three months' cruise to the Mediterranean that fall. Secretary of the Navy Daniels emphasized to the press that the voyage had only educational objectives and no political implications. The State Department for the first time took cognizance of the impact on the international situation by instructing the ambassadors in Paris and London to keep all ceremonies at a minimum in view of the unofficial nature of the visit.⁷⁴ Newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic considered it of great diplomatic significance, however, and "a forcible hint that when American diplomacy cares to assert itself, it can do so with the only kind of backing that our modern diplomatists appear to recognize."⁷⁵ The Mexican troubles called the fleet home almost at once, and the next appearance in European waters occurred in 1917, when American warships finally took their long-anticipated place beside the British at Scapa Flow.

No other naval power, not even the British, engaged in constant long-range cruising of such magnitude as that described above.⁷⁶ Expense was one factor; another was the more meticulous observation of diplomatic protocol among the European nations. The movement of European fleets into foreign waters always produced calculated diplomatic effects, which were clearly recognized as such and had nothing to do with drill or discipline or other routine naval activities. This aspect could not have been unknown to the naval and diplomatic authorities in Washington during these years and indeed received close attention before the departure of the fleet on its world cruise in 1908. Yet the frequent dispatch of fleets and squadrons to the ports of European nations known to be friendly to, or at least tolerant of, American objectives, and the omission of German ports except under diplomatic duress, seems to

⁷³ *Boston Evening Transcript*, May 15, 1913.

⁷⁴ *New York Times*, Apr. 21, 1913; Daniels to Bryan, Aug. 28, 1913; Adee to Herrick, Adee to Page, Sept. 3, 1913, File 811.3340/88, SDA.

⁷⁵ *London Standard*, quoted in *New York Times*, May 15, 1913. The *London Telegraph* said the dispatch of such a powerful force indicated the importance the United States attached to supporting its diplomacy in Europe. Quoted in *New York Times*, May 14, 1913.

⁷⁶ This practice aroused considerable criticism in the Navy itself on the ground that it interfered with the proper development of the fleet. The German Navy, it was pointed out, was not a cruising navy but spent its entire time preparing for the inevitable war with England. Memorandum for Aide for Operations, No. 1668, Jan. 19, 1914, ONI, NDA.

have been considered normal procedure or practice. The European powers did not so understand it but equated every movement with the precarious international situation in which the weight of the United States constantly tipped the balance against the pretensions of Germany. Since this activity coincided with the pattern of hemispheric defense established by the naval authorities, it would seem that the nation, under the impetus of Roosevelt's energetic direction, had moved much farther out of its isolation and into the arena of power politics that has hitherto been realized.

Washington, D. C.

The Army of Nicholas I: Its Role and Character

JOHN SHELTON CURTISS

VOLTAIRE'S description of Prussia as a country that did not have an army, as the army had the country, to a considerable degree applies to the Russia of Nicholas I. The empire, with a population of some sixty to seventy millions, supported a force of over one million under arms. Probably no contemporary army could equal it in the magnificence of its great parades, the masses of resplendent cavalry, or the perfection of a complicated system of drill and maneuver. Furthermore, it added to the glory won in the stubborn defense against Napoleon's Grande Armée and its victorious march to Paris in 1814 by gaining new laurels through victories over Persians, Turks, Poles, and insurgent Magyars. It was by virtue of its prestige and power that for nearly thirty years Nicholas could play the role of gendarme of Europe.

There is no need to define the role of this army as an instrument of foreign policy, as it is well known. Its functions within Russia are less familiar. It was the favorite agency of the emperor, who always wore a uniform, slept on a hard camp bed, and surrounded himself with soldiers. Not only did he have an unprecedented number of aides, adjutants, and other military flunkies around him, he even staffed his ministries with generals of his suite. In the 1840's military men held ten of the thirteen ministerial portfolios, and there is some reason to think that he would gladly have filled the ministries of justice, education, and foreign affairs with generals if he had had any capable of holding them.¹ It should be said that many of these soldiers in ministerial armchairs were not field commanders, but rather court generals.² Some, however, had smelled

¹ M. O. Gershenzon, ed., *Epokha Nikolaia I* (Moscow, 1911), pp. 21-22. The following generals headed ministries in the 1840's: Prince Volkonskii, minister of the imperial court; Count Chernyshev, minister of war; Count Kankrin, minister of finance; Count Benkendorff, chief of gendarmes; Count Perovskii, minister of internal affairs; Count Protasov, over procurator of the Most Holy Synod; Count Toll, chief of ways of communication; Count Kiselev, minister of state possessions; Count Adlerberg, chief of the postal department; Prince Menshikov, acting minister of the navy.

² Mikhail A. Polievktov, *Nikolai I. Biografiia i obzor tsarstvovaniia* (St. Petersburg, 1914), p. 321.

powder. General Kiselev, minister of state possessions, had done well in the Napoleonic wars, and the agnostically inclined Count Protasov, who in his capacity as over procurator of the Most Holy Synod dominated the administration of the Russian church, had been a dashing cavalry commander. In these high posts, as well as in a number of lesser ones, the military men enjoyed high prestige and preference.³

Just as soldiers held governmental posts that civilians occupied in other lands, so did the army perform many tasks that elsewhere the police or other civilian officials performed. Some 180,000 of the army formed the Internal Defense force, composed of old soldiers unfit for regular duty.⁴ They garrisoned cities all over Russia, guarded banks and state institutions, including prisons, and accompanied convicts to their places of confinement. (In St. Petersburg alone they did not perform these duties, for here the Guards regiments provided details of troops to guard state buildings and to maintain order in the capital.) It cannot be said that the military always performed these duties well, since many of the old soldiers were not fit to catch lawbreakers or to suppress riots. While in France and Austria a mere twenty or thirty thousand gendarmes and armed police performed these tasks, Russia used some 180,000 of the Internal Defense to discharge similar functions. Moreover, the suppression of peasant revolts, which was the especial task of the Internal Defense, usually proved beyond its powers, and in most cases the authorities had to call on regular troops to restore order.⁵

Other tasks assigned to the army also were not common to the rest of Europe. When great epidemics swept the land, the government detailed regiments to maintain quarantine lines of small pickets over hill and down dale to prevent the movement of carriers of infection—a duty that both officers and men greatly disliked.⁶ At the request of Count Kankrin, minister of finance under Nicholas I, the Ministry of War assigned an even more remarkable task to some of the troops. When it proved impossible to collect arrears of taxes from the peasants by ordinary means, Kankrin ordered forces of troops to be quartered on the villagers and fed by them until they paid up. The dragonades proved to be so persuasive

³ It is a curious fact that only soldiers enjoyed the right to wear mustaches, whether on active duty or in retirement. Military men who took up civilian functions had at once to shave off their facial adornment. Gershenzon, p. 21.

⁴ Rostislav A. Fadicev, *Vooruzhennyya sily Rossii* (Moscow, 1868), p. 28.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 93–98.

⁶ A. P. Zablotskii-Desiatovskii, *Graf P. D. Kiselev i ego vremia* (4 vols., St. Petersburg, 1882), I, 235–36; Vsevolod Krestovskii, *Istoriia 14-go Ulanskago lamburgskago Eia Imperatorskago Vysochestva Velikoi Kniaznoi Marii Aleksandrovny polka* (St. Petersburg, 1873), pp. 391–92.

that the peasants hastened to sell their last head of cattle in order to relieve themselves of their unwelcome guests.⁷

The army proved quite effective in assimilating non-Russians into the Russian community. The government gave opportunities to noble youths from the Baltic states and Finland, Poland and Lithuania, Georgia and the mountain tribes of the Caucasus to enroll in military schools or to receive officer's training through field service with the regiments.⁸ During the Crimean War many Polish officers fought with great bravery in the Russian army at Sevastopol.⁹ On the other hand, Poles drafted into the army as enlisted men probably had an unenviable fate. Even worse fared the Jewish conscripts. Often taken from their homes at twelve years of age or less for preliminary training before they entered the army, they were under extreme pressure to accept the Russian Orthodox faith, and those who remained true to Judaism often suffered a veritable martyrdom.¹⁰ Side by side with these unfortunates served men sent to the army as punishment, for the army served also as a prison without bars. Members of the Decembrist uprising, Polish insurgents, rebellious students, unsubmitive peasants delivered by their landowners, stubborn religious dissenters, as well as various sorts of felons sentenced to the army for life were found among the ranks.¹¹

The people of Russia found this great army a grievous burden. In part because of Russia's miserable communications and in part because of the nature of the serf system, the authorities felt it necessary to maintain this enormous body of men under arms, even though in other countries the system of universal training and vast reserves was beginning to make it possible to reduce standing armies. Because by well-established law a Russian serf became free after completing his army service, it was impossible to have universal military service.¹² Instead, the army filled its ranks by drafting men of the lowest classes at the rate of five, six, or eight per thousand males. Their families mourned those taken as though they were dead, for few came back from the twenty-five-year term of service. The

⁷ Nikolai M. Druzhinin, *Gosudarstvennye Krestiane i reforma* P. D. Kiseleva (2 vols., Moscow, 1946), I, 202-204; Ivan S. Bliokh, *Finansy Rossii xix stolietia* (4 vols., St. Petersburg, 1882), I, 215-16.

⁸ *Svod Voennykh Postanovlenii* (5 pts. in 12, St. Petersburg, 1838), Pt. I, Bk. III, "Obrazovanie voenno-uchebnykh zavedenii s ikh upravleniiami," arts. 671, 682, 722-23, 1747-62.

⁹ "Many Polish-born officers and soldiers served in Sevastopol with the dazzling bravery for which this people has been famous of old," Arnold L. Zisserman, "Zamietki o krymskoi voinie," *Voennyi Sbornik* (1859, No. 4), p. 391 fn.

¹⁰ Semen M. Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland* (3 vols., Philadelphia, ca. 1918-20), II, 18-29.

¹¹ *Svod Voenn. Post.*, Pt. II, Bk. I, "O prokhozhenii sluzhby po voennym vedomstvu," arts. 273-80, 290.

¹² Fadiev, pp. 26-27.

recruits, torn from their families, sometimes from wives and children, whom they often never saw again, also felt doomed. Conscription was a grim burden for Russian society.¹³ In 1834 Nicholas lightened this load somewhat by the provision that men who had fifteen-year good-conduct records might enter the reserves for the balance of their terms. From then on some seventeen thousand men annually became reservists.¹⁴ Nonetheless, the drafting of men remained a nightmare for the people.

In certain parts of Russia there existed military colonies, where the peasants were not subject to conscription. Actually, here the lot of the peasants was worse than elsewhere, as they had to quarter soldiers in their homes in addition to being themselves under military discipline. Their commanders strictly regulated every minute of their waking hours, so that they had no peace. Even worse, their sons, officially termed cantonists, on reaching manhood automatically entered the army, for which they had undergone rigorous training from their tender years.¹⁵ It is no wonder that in 1831 thousands of military colonists rose in fierce revolt, which the government subdued with equal ferocity.¹⁶ Later the military colonies became somewhat less onerous, but to the end of the period of Nicholas I the peasants hated them with all their hearts.

Another burden borne by part of the population was that of sheltering soldiers in their homes, usually for some six months of the year. The authorities quartered each soldier on one or several families, which by law must shelter and feed him. In prosperous villages this was no great hardship, especially as the householder had the right to receive the soldier's food rations,¹⁷ although in practice this was apparently not always observed. For poor villages the obligation was hard to bear. Quartering was a heavy load for the poor folk in Lithuania and the western provinces, who had to mix chaff and bark with their bread and who stripped the fields bare of blades of grass in the spring. Russian military men complained bitterly that their troops suffered from wintering under such conditions.¹⁸

For the nation as a whole, the army was a grave fiscal burden. Count

¹³ Skorov, "Riadovoi Zinov'ev," *Voennyi Sbornik* (1860, No. 6), pp. 433-40; Heinrich Brandt, "Zhenatye nizhnie chiny," *Voennyi Sbornik* (1860, No. 12), pp. 358-60.

¹⁴ *Svod Voenn. Post.*, Pt. II, Bk. I, art. 298; Polievktov, p. 330.

¹⁵ Pavel P. Kartsov, *Iz proshlago. Lichnyia i sluzhebnyia vospominaniia, 1831-1878* (2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1888), I, 6-7; *Graf Arakcheev i voennye poseleniia, 1809-1831* (St. Petersburg, 1871), pp. 200-207.

¹⁶ Kartsov, I, 8-21; *Graf Arakcheev i voennye poseleniia*, pp. 9-84; P. P. Evstaf'ev, *Vostanie voennykh poselians* (Moscow, 1934), pp. 113-235.

¹⁷ Krestovskii, pp. 516-17.

¹⁸ Druzhinin, p. 341; N. Obruchev, "Tznanka krymskoi voiny," *Voennyi Sbornik* (1858, No. 4), p. 462.

Kankrin, the finance minister, strove stubbornly for nearly twenty years to persuade the tsar to balance the budget by ending the war in the Caucasus, but he failed.¹⁹ After him less able men permitted ever larger deficits and overspending. The cost of the struggle in the Caucasus continued to mount, and when the expense of wars against Magyars, Turks, and the Anglo-French allies combined with it, the budgetary problems became insoluble. Arrears of taxes continued to rise, and it proved necessary to resort to loans from banks and savings funds and the spending of anticipated revenues from the next year. Even in time of peace the army of Nicholas I was the nation's largest single expenditure, and in the war years it swallowed vastly more.²⁰

It cannot be said that the people of Russia received a proper return for the expenditures of flesh and blood and of the products of their toil. Even if one overlooks the unproductive nature of these military expenditures, one must admit that the army they provided was not efficient and that it suffered from a number of basic defects. Of course, it won the wars against Turkey, Poland, and Hungary; but the war in the Caucasus dragged on, getting worse rather than better, until the situation improved in the later years of Nicholas' reign. Above all, the weaknesses of the Russian army became glaringly evident during the Crimean War of 1854 and 1855, when it proved unable to defend its own territory.

One of the weak spots was an inferior military technique. While in some respects the Russians were not backward—noticeably in engineering, to which the tsar devoted much attention, and in artillery to some degree—in general they failed to keep up with contemporary military developments. Instead of stressing the use of open order and effective musketry in battle, the high command chiefly emphasized perfection in close-order drill and battle formations in which each detail was minutely specified by field regulations. The infantry had learned to march across level parade grounds in ranks as straight as taut strings, with regiments of twenty-five hundred men each in line. One enthusiast exclaimed that a parade of troops in regimental fronts was “the spectacle of the gods.”²¹ To which one may add: Magnificent, but was it war? Under this system the ideal infantryman was he who could perform the exaggerated goosestep used on parades with a full glass of water on his shako without spilling a drop.²² So strong was the mania for perfection of military evolutions that

¹⁹ Bliokh, I, 169–241.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 249–90; II, 4–21.

²¹ “Iz zapisok sevastopol'tsa,” *Russkii Arkhiv* (1867, No. 12), pp. 1585–86, quoted in Andrei M. Zaionchkovskii, *Voennye reformy 1860–1870 godov v Rossii* (Moscow, 1952), p. 34.

²² Petr P. Dirin, *Istoriia leib-guardii Semenevskago polka* (2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1883), II, 168.

in preparing for the great annual reviews the commanders were at pains to secure a completely even expanse of ground; they had all furrows and ditches leveled off and hedgehog mounds and molehills erased. They avoided uneven, broken terrain like the plague.²³ Even in time of war parades continued in the very combat areas. In the summer of 1828, when the tsar was with the army in Bulgaria facing the Turks, he held three parades in four days, capped by maneuvers on July 1—to the great distress of the troops.²⁴ At the end of Nicholas' reign the same formalism ruled. In 1854 Prince M. D. Gorchakov, commander of the army on the Danube, in his reports stressed the skill of his troops on review rather than their battle training. Of one brigade he wrote: "The alignment and formation of these troops in the ceremonial march by squadrons and in close columns was so fine and so exact that the men appeared ready for a parade."²⁵

The cavalry was even less ready for war than was the infantry. The splendid regiments above all sought to keep their horses sleek and fat, which they achieved by reducing the exercise of their mounts to a minimum.²⁶ The horses had learned to use a shortened trot or canter, which presented an elegant appearance but covered little ground. As a result, at several reviews bodies of infantry and field artillery at an ordinary march overtook horsemen at the trot. Nicholas thereupon forbade the shortened paces at reviews, but the horses continued to use them as before.²⁷ When the cavalry had to make practice marches, the commanders were careful to limit them to seven or nine miles per day, with long rest periods. The troops covered the entire distance at the walk, under strict orders not to trot. If they had to make marches of as much as sixteen miles, they went slowly, with extended rest periods, and for a considerable space the men marched on foot, leading their horses. One general is reported to have said that if some genius had only been able to devise a way for the men to carry the horses on their backs, so that they could trot briskly into camp at the end of the march, his reward would have been great. But as this was impossible, cavalry regiments continued to take four weeks to march from St. Petersburg to Moscow—a distance that they should have covered in ten days.²⁸

In time of war this system produced dire results. After several months

²³ Nikolai P. Glinetskiĭ, *Istoriia Russkago general'nago shtaba* (2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1888-94), II, 192-93.

²⁴ Theodor Schiemann, *Geschichte Russlands unter Kaiser Nikolaus I* (4 vols., Berlin, 1904-19), II, 249.

²⁵ Zaionchkovskii, p. 36.

²⁶ Vasilii Z. Potto, *Istoriia Novorossiiskago Dragunskago polka. 1803-1866* (St. Petersburg, 1866), pp. 150-51; Krestovskii, pp. 387-90, 500-501.

²⁷ Krestovskii, *loc. cit.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 499.

of campaigning against the Turks in 1828, whole regiments found it necessary to go back to Russia at the height of the campaign, with the men carrying saddles and gear on their backs, leading their crippled mounts. In the Polish war of 1831 the Russian cavalry proved far inferior to the Poles in mobility until the rigors of the campaign had hardened the Russian horses.²⁹ The commanders, however, quickly forgot this lesson and continued to use the old training methods. Again they achieved glittering perfection on the parade ground. But when, at the great review of 1837, the tsar had the regiments gallop rapidly to the muster-point under the hot summer sun, fallen horses soon littered the field.³⁰

The pedantry of Nicholas' military system, which stressed unthinking obedience and parade ground evolutions rather than combat training, produced ineffective commanders in time of war. Only the Caucasus army brought forward young, original generals with little regard for spit-and-polish soldiering, and the higher military authorities, regarding these men as unfit for normal warfare, failed to promote them to high commands.³¹ It is no accident that in the Crimean War Nicholas depended on a group of elderly and ineffective generals. Paskevich, M. D. Gorchakov, Prince Menshikov, and Count Osten-Sacken all failed dismally in the crucible of war. The army of Nicholas went to war under the terrible handicap of incapable leadership.

Because of incapacity at the top (for which Nicholas himself must take much of the blame) the Russian army lacked the proper implements of war. Russian military doctrine still clung to the ideas of Suvorov, who in the eighteenth century had won battles by stressing the *élan* of the troops and the superiority of the bayonet over musket fire.³² Throughout the reign of Nicholas the troops carried smoothbore muskets with an effective range of two hundred paces. Only a few had muzzle-loading rifles, against which there was a strong prejudice because they were slower in loading than the muskets.³³ It is interesting to note that Russian military opinion rejected the Prussian needlegun for the opposite reason: the ease and rapidity of loading these weapons would cause the infantryman to fire so fast that he would soon use up all the cartridges that he could carry.³⁴ Thus the Russian army remained true to its muskets, only to find

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 387, 484-85, 497.

³⁰ Potto, pp. 153-54.

³¹ Glinetskiĭ, II, 201-202.

³² Estaf'ev, *O sovremennom voennom iskustvie* (St. Petersburg, 1856), pp. 165-66; Polievktov, p. 329; Vladimir G. Fedorov, *Vooruzhenie russkoi armii v krymskoi kampanii* (St. Petersburg, 1904), p. 123.

³³ A. Andrianov, *Inkermanskii boi i oborona Sevastopolia. Nabroski uchastnika* (St. Petersburg, 1903), p. 2; Polievktov, p. 329.

³⁴ Polkovnik Korostovtsov in *Artilleriiskii Zhurnal* (1855, No. 1), p. 43.

that the British and French troops in 1854 were far superior in firepower.³⁵ The Russian army in the Caucasus even continued to use *flintlock* muskets until the end of 1855.³⁶

The Russian high command provided the army with outdated weapons, and then failed to train the troops in their use. Army regulations prescribed extremely small amounts of ammunition: thirty blank cartridges and ten ball cartridges per year for each enlisted man.³⁷ The troops did not always receive even these amounts, however, and some commanders made shift to train their men with blank cartridges and bullets of clay.³⁸ Others did not take the trouble to use the cartridges allotted but dumped the powder into streams or gave it to their friends among the neighboring landowners.³⁹ As a result, the marksmanship of the Russian infantry was very poor. Their leaders expressed relatively little concern on this score, however, for they regarded cold steel as much more effective than bullets. Nevertheless, when conflict loomed in the Crimea Prince Menshikov sent word to Prince Gorchakov that he refused "to attack the enemy with our infantry, which in a year has received only two ball cartridges."⁴⁰

Another weakness of the system was its inflexibility in wartime. Extremely few reserves were available, and their quality when called to the colors proved to be low. By the beginning of 1856 the Russian army had managed to raise its strength to 1,775,000 men, but of these a considerable number were in half-trained militia units.⁴¹ During most of the campaign in the Crimea the Russian forces were inferior to their adversaries in manpower.⁴²

Other failings, less obvious but nonetheless grave, also existed. Corruption was rampant. Regimental commanders made up for years of low pay by using regimental funds to buy poor-grade supplies and pocketing the difference. There was skimping on the firewood used to heat barracks, so that the men kept them tightly closed in winter, with grave conse-

³⁵ Fedorov, pp. 4-8; Zaionchkovskii, p. 38.

³⁶ Podporuchik Andrievich, "Strielkovaia ofiterskaia shkola," *Voennyi Sbornik* (1860, No. 2), p. 381; Pavel O. Bobrovskii, *Istoriia 13-go leib-grenaderskago Erivanskago Ego Velichestva polka za 250 let* (5 pts., St. Petersburg, 1892-98), IV, 454.

³⁷ Fedorov, p. 72.

³⁸ Mikhailo A. Kovalevskii, *Piat' desiat let sushchestvovaniia leib-gvardii dragunskago polka* (Novgorod, 1870), pp. 43, 50, 80, 174 fn.

³⁹ "Vzgliad na sostoianie russkikh voisk v minuvshuiu voinu," *Voennyi Sbornik* (1858, No. 1), p. 12; Petr V. Alabin, *Chetyre voiny*, quoted in Zaionchkovskii, p. 38.

⁴⁰ Nikolai F. Dubrovin, *Materialy dlia Istorii Krymskoi Voiny i Oborony Sevastopolia* (7 vols., St. Petersburg, 1871-74), II, 388, quoted in Fedorov, p. 70.

⁴¹ Modest I. Bogdanovich, *Istoricheskii ocherk deiatel'nosti voennago upravleniia v Rossii v pervoe dvadtsatiletie blagopoluchnago tsarstvovaniia gosudaria imperatora Aleksandra Nikolaevicha 1855-1880* (6 vols., St. Petersburg, 1879-81), I, 53-62.

⁴² Eduard I. Tottleben, *Opisanie oborony g. Sevastopolia* (2 vols. in 3, St. Petersburg, 1863-78), II, Pt. 2, pp. 312-14.

quences for their health.⁴³ Officers looked on command of a regiment as the equivalent of the ownership of a fine estate.⁴⁴ Military hospitals were especially profitable to administer, since profiteering from laundry contracts, the issue of drugs and rations, and other items brought in substantial income.⁴⁵ Likewise the Quartermaster's Department and the Commissariat were in ill repute because of graft through issuing inferior equipment and bad food in wartime. In 1854 some of the troops in the Crimea found themselves forced to subsist on rotten biscuit that the troops on the Danube had rejected some months before.⁴⁶

In logistics the Russian army was also weak. Far more than the effectiveness of the enemy resistance, it was the problem of supplying the army that delayed Russian victory over the Turks and the Poles. The troops often had insufficient food and always lacked gunpowder.⁴⁷ The difficulties of organizing vast trains of peasant wagons and oxcarts and of supplying fodder for army horses and the wagon trains were a main cause for Russian defeat in the Crimea. If in 1854 Russia had had a railroad from Moscow to the Black Sea, it might well have been worth as much as two hundred thousand soldiers.

Finally, the army suffered greatly from disease. Pulmonary ailments were especially deadly, but in addition dysentery, cholera, malaria, typhus, and occasionally bubonic plague took a heavy toll. While in other armies of the time the soldiers had a death rate twice as high as that of the corresponding civilian age-groups, the Russian soldiers died three times as fast as the Russian civilians of the same ages.⁴⁸

As a result of these defects, the Russian army proved inefficient in war. Although many of its foes, such as the Turks, Persians, and Poles, suffered from internal dissension, the Russians found it difficult to subdue them. Relatively small numbers of Caucasian tribesmen, aided by a most difficult terrain, were able to hold off the Russians throughout Nicholas' reign and in the 1830's and 1840's even inflicted severe defeats on them. During the

⁴³ *Stolietie Voennago Ministerstva 1802-1902* (13 pts. in 36, St. Petersburg, 1902-11), I, Nikolai A. Danilov, *Istoricheskii ocherk razvitiia voennago upravleniia v Rossii*, Appendix 10, pp. 65-66.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-65.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, III, Pt. 2, *Glavnyi Voennno-Sanitarnyi Komitet*, Appendix 5, pp. 173-84.

⁴⁶ "Kniaz' A. S. Menshikov v razskazakh ego ad'jutanta A. A. Panaeva," *Russkaia Starina* (Apr., 1877), pp. 698-99, quoted in Evgenii V. Tarle, *Krymskaia voina* (2 vols., Moscow, 1950), II, 243-44.

⁴⁷ Totleben, II, Pt. 1, pp. 98, 121, 133, 151, 312, 335; V. Kolchak, *Voina i plien. 1853-1855 gg.* (St. Petersburg, 1904), p. 25; "Gorchakov-Aleksandru II," *Russkaia Starina* (July, 1883), p. 199, quoted in Tarle, II, 444.

⁴⁸ *Sbornik sochinenii ofitserov Nikolaevskoi Akademii General'nago Shtaba* (2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1863), II, 6-7.

Crimean War the Russians had to keep two hundred thousand veteran troops in the Caucasus.⁴⁹ In 1849 they quickly overcame the Magyars, but more by superior numbers than by skillful leadership. And in the Crimean War the Russians tasted defeat. To be sure, because of the fear that the Austrians, the Prussians, and even the Swedes might fall upon them, they felt compelled to keep most of their army in Poland and the Baltic area. They also had the severe handicap of the impossible logistics of the Crimea. But Russian defeat largely resulted from incompetent leadership, from a grave deficiency in small-arms fire, and above all from a shortage of powder that often doomed the Russian gunners to suicidal inactivity. As of old, Russian junior officers and men displayed great valor and initiative, but allied superiority in technique and in leadership snatched victory from them. Thus the army of Nicholas I failed in its major test.

It is clear, then, that the Russian army under Nicholas was less effective than its glitter and its vast numbers would indicate. While it was strong enough to repress all peasant revolts at home, it proved less successful against foreign foes. Above all, the burdens that the army imposed on the nation were not in proportion to its value. It seems safe to say that the strengths and weaknesses of the army reflected those of Russian society. It had the numbers and the endurance of a virile and unsophisticated people. Its weaknesses, complicated by the pedantic policy of the emperor, were those of a backward serf system that lacked industrial and commercial techniques. Vast social and economic changes would have to occur before Russia could have an effective army.

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⁴⁹ Fadieev, *Shest' desiat let kavkazskoi voiny* (Tiflis, 1860), p. 39; Bobrovskii, IV, p. iv.

The Urban Side of the Gracchan Economic Crisis*

HENRY C. BOREN

THE critical period for the Roman Republic, it is often recognized, began in 133 B.C., the year of the tribuneship of Tiberius Gracchus. The measures which he and after him his brother Gaius (tribune in 123 and 122 B.C.) forced, over the opposition of most of the reluctant senatorial aristocracy, exposed the weaknesses of the Roman constitution with its dual development and divided responsibility and created new, irreconcilable factions whose strife eventually overthrew the Republic. The modern, who is likely to think of the English example of progress toward democracy through a series of concessions by the ruling classes, will perhaps conclude that the Gracchi only checked what might have been a similar evolution in Roman government. On the other hand, it is quite possible that Gaius Gracchus intended to foster development toward democracy, but along Greek lines, that is, by setting himself up as a tyrant, a popular champion, who would ally himself with the merchant class to destroy the power of the aristocratic families. Uncompromising nobles like Scipio Nasica and Lucius Opimius, who did not hesitate to use violence against the Gracchi and their followers, must certainly be held chiefly accountable for the vicious nature of the subsequent factional strife which racked the state until Augustus. In any case, the Gracchan period was the beginning of the end for the Republic and is consequently worth careful study.

It is the thesis of this paper that the most pressing problems, those which precipitated the disastrous political tug of war, were economic and that they were of a peculiarly urban nature not before fully recognized by historians of Rome. These conclusions are based partly on new evidence but depend primarily upon heretofore overlooked negative evidence and a fresh look at the traditional sources.

In their discussions of the economic crisis of this period, the historians, following Appian, Plutarch, and Tiberius Gracchus himself, have emphasized the rise of the slave-operated *latifundia*, the decline of the small farmer, and

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the failure to enforce the centuries-old Licinian-Sextian laws limiting individual holdings of public land. This is quite proper, up to a point, for there is no doubt that there was a serious agrarian social and economic crisis from which stemmed many serious problems. But it will be seen that for Rome the most troublesome problems were urban, though these were related, certainly, to agrarian conditions; further, the urban economic situation was the most important factor in the immediate crisis.

Evidence is presented in this paper to show that the city of Rome was generally prosperous during the middle of the second century, that spending on construction and luxuries was especially heavy in the years before the Gracchi, that there was a sharp decline in building and government spending generally just before 133, and that this decline, along with other economic factors, precipitated an especially acute crisis affecting particularly the city itself in 135-134, just as Tiberius Gracchus stood for office. It is inferred that the economy of the city had become geared closely to state expenditure, though, of course, it was also dependent upon heavy private spending in the area. The tremendous income and expenditure in the 140's and the sharp curtailment in succeeding years therefore reacted directly in every phase of the city's economy.

A survey of some widely used general works will show the extent to which this study modifies the customary views of the period. A. H. J. Greenidge, after giving some attention to the economic life of the city of Rome, says: "Italian agriculture was still the basis of the brilliant life of Rome. Had it not been so, the epoch of revolution could not have been ushered in by an agrarian law."¹ But the agrarian law did not "usher in" the epoch; Tiberius' measures were not seriously opposed as revolutionary until constitutional issues were injected into the struggle, when he challenged senatorial control of the provinces and of the public purse and threatened to make the tribuneship completely independent of senatorial authority by "recall" of unpopular tribunes and successive reelection of popular ones.²

Hugh Last writes of a general economic crisis in this period but refers primarily to the agricultural situation. He mentions the influx of large quantities of booty but notes the results only as they affected the rapid growth of the *latifundia*. He says: "Since there was no longer a livelihood to be got in

¹ *A History of Rome from the Tribune of Tiberius Gracchus to the End of the Jugurthine War, B.C. 133-104* (London, 1904), p. 59.

² It is worth noting that in its initial stages Tiberius' program was little more than an episode in the struggle between the Claudian and Scipionic factions. See Ronald Syme, *Journal of Roman Studies*, XXIV (1934), 104; K. Bilz, "Die Politik des P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus," *Würzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft*, VII (1936), 66; also my article, "Livius Drusus, t. p. 122, and His Anti-Gracchan Program," *Classical Journal*, LII (1956), 27 f.

the countryside, there was a movement to the towns. . . . An export trade was the only hope of employment for the fresh arrivals." Though undeniable in part, each of these views requires reexamination. Last recognizes that Tiberius' main problem was to reduce the number of "paupers" in Rome.³

William E. Heitland discusses the subject in a conventional manner, remarking that "Gracchus . . . was right in recognizing the land-question as the fundamental problem of the state."⁴ Tenney Frank also treats the period in the usual fashion,⁵ and so, too, does H. H. Scullard, in his recent revision of Frank B. Marsh's survey of the later republic.⁶ A few writers recognize to some degree that the city of Rome had its own problems, that the influx of booty in the middle of the century had its effect on the economy, and even that the wars of the 130's seriously drained the treasury.⁷ The present writer, however, knows of no one who has sufficiently emphasized the impact of the influx of wealth on the economy of the city of Rome nor anyone who has closely considered the specifically urban side of the crisis with which Tiberius Gracchus tried to deal. Tiberius, of course, did make an agrarian law the core of his program, but the immediate crisis was less agrarian than urban, less concerned with land than with people. The land distribution law was merely his answer to the really pressing problem of what to do with the growing masses of the underprivileged in Rome.

Why had so many Latin and Italian small-holders streamed into the capital? It is not necessary to accept wholly the reasoning of Tiberius, who regarded the slave-operated *latifundia* as the chief factor in the migration. It would be equally logical to insist that the chief reason for the growing urban population in the United States today is the extensive adoption of modern farm machinery. The new and more profitable and efficient capitalistic farm operation in each instance certainly accounts for the dispossession of some farmers, but there are many reasons for such a migration. Early in the second century large numbers of men from the cities of the Italian allies already were flocking to Rome,⁸ and there is no real evidence that the movement was not for the most part voluntary. The average Roman or Italian peasant living on his tiny hereditary acreage scabbled desperately for a bare existence.

³ In the *Cambridge Ancient History*, IX, 2-10.

⁴ *The Roman Republic* (3 vols., Cambridge, Eng., 1923), II, 268.

⁵ *An Economic History of Rome* (2d ed., Baltimore, Md., 1927), pp. 127 ff.

⁶ *A History of the Roman World from 146 to 30 B.C.* (2d ed., London, 1953), pp. 32 ff.

⁷ See, for example, Guglielmo Ferrero, *The Greatness and Decline of Rome*, tr. Alfred E. Zimmern (5 vols., New York, 1907-1909), I, 50 ff.

⁸ Livy 41.8. For a carefully written account of agricultural change in this period, see Tenney Frank, *Aspects of Social Behavior in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), pp. 64 ff. Frank points out the possibility of overemphasizing the role of the *latifundia* in this period.

Surely he longed for something better. The ex-centurion who about 171 B.C. helped put down opposition to the military levy for the war against Perseus illustrates the bleak prospect the veterans faced.⁹ This man, after twenty-two years of service in the army, had been willing to return to his inheritance—a single *iugerum* of land (about three fifths of an acre) and a small hut—but how many such veterans could endure the old family farm after service in Greece or Asia? Soldiers who became acquainted with city life often preferred its numerous opportunities and varied activities to the farm. Moreover, those who held no land were exempt from military service.

During most of the first two thirds of the second century Rome was a busy place, requiring large numbers of laborers and artisans. There was much construction, financed by indemnities, booty, tribute, and the income from mines. The armies were supplied, and ships were built; numerous shops supplied the needs of the city's growing population.¹⁰ The extensive colonization programs of the 180's and 170's may indicate that during this period not all emigrating peasants could be assimilated into the urban population. Conversely, the cessation of colonization at mid-century (no Latin colonies were established after 181 and no Roman colonies between 157 and 122¹¹) indicates that for many years before the Gracchi the migrating Romans and Italians were readily absorbed into the swelling, bustling metropolis.

A survey of economic activity affecting Rome in the first half of the second century and a more detailed study of the decade prior to 133 B.C. will both suggest what opportunities were available to immigrants in this period and help to show, as the result of an obvious interconnection between income and spending and economic well-being, what were the fluctuations in the city's economy in these years.

The first third of the century saw an influx of money to the city from indemnities (chiefly from Carthage, Macedonia, and Syria) and bullion from the Spanish mines that amounted to an estimated 300,000,000 *denarii*.¹² Much of the metal was quickly coined. It has been estimated that during a forty-three-year period 250,000,000 silver *denarii* were struck.¹³ There was even an issue of gold coinage in 167 due to the "enormous quantities of gold staters . . . imported to Rome, partly as spoils of war and partly as payments of tribute."¹⁴ Sale of slaves was a source of additional income. Individual sol-

⁹ Livy 42.34.

¹⁰ Greenidge speaks of the growth of the various trades in his *History*, p. 56.

¹¹ Velleius 1.15; Livy 11.34.

¹² Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, Vol. I, *Rome and Italy of the Republic* (Baltimore, Md., 1933), p. 146.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Edward A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (London, 1952), p. xxvi.

diers brought back booty. Macedonian mines were reopened in 158¹⁵ and yielded some precious metals. By 157, a considerable surplus was reported in the treasury.¹⁶ Despite a possible short deflationary period in the late 180's and 170's, the period generally was one of inflation—"inflation of a better kind, the issue of ever-increasing amounts of good money."¹⁷ This new wealth of silver brought a change in the proportionate value of silver and copper, resulting in a gradual reduction of the weight of the bronze *as* from one ounce in 200 B.C. to half that amount at the end of the century (this may show merely that the *as* had become fiduciary coinage).

Money flowed rather freely in Rome in the decade of the 140's. Although the treasury was reported "in straits" from about 150 to about 146,¹⁸ booty from Carthage, Corinth, and Macedonia soon bolstered public and private purses. Unfortunately, the available information is not very exact. According to Pliny, Carthage yielded 4,370 pounds of silver and "much" gold.¹⁹ Frank estimates that Rome gained at least 45,000,000 *denarii* from both Carthage and Corinth.²⁰ Officers and soldiers brought back large amounts of private loot, especially from Corinth, and there were large numbers of slaves whose sale brought considerable sums. Rome, of course, had other sources of income. The productive mines in Spain, for example, increased in yield in this period.²¹ Newly acquired gold mines in the Piedmont operated by Roman companies about this time produced so much metal that there was a considerable although short-lived drop in the value of gold.²²

The extraordinary quantity of money moving into public and private coffers was not permitted to gather dust in the vaults. The years following 146 B.C. saw unusual spending in the city. Several important public buildings were put up in these years. Q. Caecilius Metellus, the conqueror of Macedonia, after his triumph built temples to Jupiter Stator and to Juno Regina, apparently within a magnificent portico erected shortly before.²³ Greek architects and sculptors were called in to design these buildings, which were

¹⁵ Frank, *Economic Survey*, I, 256.

¹⁶ Pliny *Natural History* 33.3.55. See the estimated balance sheet for the period 200-157 in Frank, *Economic Survey*, I, 145.

¹⁷ Harold Mattingly, *Roman Coins from the Earliest Times to the Fall of the Western Empire* (London, 1928), p. 94.

¹⁸ Frank, *Economic Survey*, I, 266.

¹⁹ *Natural History* 33.141.

²⁰ *Economic Survey*, I, 230.

²¹ Francis J. Wiseman, *Roman Spain* (London, 1956), p. 17; Frank, *Economic Survey*, I, 138.

²² Strabo 4.6.12.

²³ See Samuel B. Platner and Thomas Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London, 1929), pp. 424, 304 f.; also Marian Elizabeth Blake, *Ancient Roman Construction in Italy from the Prehistoric Period to Augustine* (Washington, D. C., 1947), p. 131, with the references there cited, especially Velleius 1.11.3-5 and 2.1.1; Ferrero, I, 44, with references; Gaetano de Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, IV, 2 (Florence, 1953), pp. 76 ff., with his excellent notes.

reported to be the first temples in Rome of all-marble construction. "Liberated" Greek art works graced their interiors; in the central area before the temples were set Lysippus' famous statues of Alexander's generals. L. Mummius, the spoiler of Corinth, vowed a temple to Hercules Victor, which seems to have been dedicated by himself as censor in 142.²⁴ Pliny says Mummius filled Rome with statuary.²⁵ He furnished works of art, including statues by Praxiteles, for the embellishment of a temple dedicated to Felicitas, which was erected soon after 146 by L. Licinius Lucullus from booty taken in a Spanish campaign of 150-151.²⁶

A major expenditure during the 140's was the construction of the Marcian aqueduct by Q. Marcius Rex at a cost of 180,000,000 *sesterces*.²⁷ At the same time (144-140 B.C.) Marcius repaired the Aqua Appia and the Aqua Anio Vetus. These additions to the water supply system testify to the almost explosive population growth of the city. Other major construction projects of the 140's included the rebuilding of the Pons Aemilius and the fortification of the Janiculum in 142.²⁸ Typical of the lavish expenditure of the times was the decision to gild the ceiling of the Capitoline temple, the first such ceiling in Rome.²⁹ Another large temple was undertaken in 138 B.C. by D. Junius Brutus Callaicus. Placed in the Circus Flaminius and dedicated to Mars, it contained statuary by Scopas.³⁰

Significantly corroborative of heavy government spending in this period is the present author's statistical study of coin hoards of the time, which shows a relatively heavy volume of coinage for the 140's.³¹ Since the Roman *tresviri monetales* ordinarily struck coins only as they were needed to meet expenses of state, coinage volume is a reliable reflection of public expenditure. Issues of *denarii* (to which the study was confined) during these years were consistently large—as one would expect on the basis of evidence presented in the paragraphs above.

It can be surmised that the years which saw such an extensive public building program also witnessed heavy spending by private persons. Much booty from the profitable wars of the 140's fell into private purses. Pliny associates the fall and looting of Corinth and Carthage with the introduction of new standards of luxury into the state.³² In addition, contractors, artisans,

²⁴ Platner and Ashby, p. 256 (based on *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, I².626).

²⁵ *Natural History* 34.36.

²⁶ Platner and Ashby, p. 207.

²⁷ Frank, *Economic Survey*, I, 227.

²⁸ Platner and Ashby, pp. 397 f.

²⁹ Pliny *Natural History* 33.57.

³⁰ See references in Platner and Ashby, p. 328.

³¹ "Numismatic Light on the Gracchan Crisis," *American Journal of Philology*, LXXIX (Apr., 1958), 140-155.

³² *Natural History* 33.148-50.

and merchants would have prospered as a result of the heavy disbursements in and near Rome by the government. It must again be emphasized, however, that despite large private outlays which affected the prosperity level, it was inevitable that the general economy of the city should become intricately linked with the level of state expenditure and that any curtailment of that spending should immediately and disastrously react upon the economic fortunes of the masses of laborers and artisans at Rome.

In contrast with the prosperous 140's, the evidence—mostly negative—indicates a sharp reduction of public spending in the years after 138 B.C. Following construction of the temple to Mars in that year, there is no trace of further important public construction for thirteen years, until 125 B.C., when there was built the Tepulan aqueduct, less than a fifth as long as the Marcian, delivering less than a tenth the volume of water.³³ This sudden drop in the scale of public spending is corroborated by the statistical coin study mentioned above. Although the issues of coins cannot be dated with sufficient accuracy to permit a year-by-year analysis, the statistics show with high probability that the pattern of consistently large issues of *denarii* in the 140's was not repeated in the 130's. The total volume of coins struck in these years was decidedly lower.³⁴

Additional evidence for the changed economic pattern of the 130's may be deduced from the nature of the wars Rome waged in this decade. These military operations, relatively minor, included wars against the Numantines in Spain, against the Scordisci in Macedonia, and against a slave revolt in Sicily. None of these conflicts could have produced much booty and no doubt, in fact, represented a net loss—which means that there was proportionally less available money to use for outlays in Rome. In the later stages of the Numantine War, Scipio Aemilianus used about sixty thousand troops;³⁵ the city provided little spoil, and in his triumph Scipio distributed only seven *denarii* each to his soldiers³⁶—hardly enough for an extended spending spree in the big city! Probably the normal tribute from Spain was reduced by the disturbed conditions, and the flow of bullion from the mines may also have been lowered,³⁷ although the most productive mines, near New Carthage, probably were not affected. The repulsion of the Scordisci in Macedonia in 135 was no doubt a small task,³⁸ but for a time the tribute may

³³ Platner and Ashby, pp. 27 f.

³⁴ "Numismatic Light," pp. 144 f., 149 f.

³⁵ Wiseman, p. 25; cf. Frank, *Economic Survey*, I, 222 f.

³⁶ Florus 1.39; Pliny *Natural History* 33.141.

³⁷ Oliver Davies, *Roman Mines in Europe* (Oxford, 1935), p. 94.

³⁸ M. I. Rostovtzeff in *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (3 vols., Oxford, 1941), II, 758 f.

have been lessened and income from the mines reduced.³⁹ The most significant of these three military operations was the Sicilian Slave War, which worsened about 135 when Eunus organized the revolt into a war of serious proportions. Wide areas were devastated.⁴⁰ The grain tithe, on which Rome had come to depend not only for income but also for food, was in large part uncollectible. This cut in grain imports did much to precipitate the immediate crisis in Rome—which must now be scrutinized more closely.

The multitude of immigrants into Rome during the years before the Gracchi could not have relished their existence in the city, even though they came, for the most part, with a wave of prosperity. Housing was inadequate, and the newcomers were crowded into large, many-storied apartment houses called *insulae*. The long, gradual inflation which characterized most decades of the century brought with it gradually rising prices and no doubt tended to benefit the commercial classes. But in an age when there were no labor unions or cost-of-living wage increases to compensate, the economic condition of the lowest classes could not have been satisfactory even during the prosperity of the 140's. "The rise in prices was more automatic and inevitable than the rise in pay."⁴¹ Moreover, the wars which brought huge booty to Rome had brought also large numbers of slaves. While many of these were used in farm operations, no doubt there was also a tendency in the city to replace free labor with slave labor, which during the 140's and for some years following was in such excellent supply. M. I. Rostovtzeff, noting that in Gracchan times there was unrest generally throughout the Mediterranean (and suggesting that this unrest was more important than the meager evidence indicates), attributes it in part to the abundance of cheap slave labor, which displaced free workers.⁴² Fritz M. Heichelheim attributes these uprisings to a general drastic rise in grain prices, which reduced many of the proletarians to starvation levels.⁴³ The reported remarks to the Roman mob of Scipio Aemilianus, who called its members "step-children" of Italy and declared that he had brought most of them to Rome in chains,⁴⁴ indicate that there were numerous freedmen or others of foreign birth in the jeering crowd. If the lower-class wage earner lagged behind financially in times of

³⁹ These mines were almost worked out, however, and did not yield much ore. See Frank, *Economic Survey*, I, 256.

⁴⁰ Diodorus 36.1; Florus 2.7.

⁴¹ Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, p. 94.

⁴² *Op. cit.*, II, 756 f., 807 f. See also Greenidge, *History*, pp. 57 f., 203.

⁴³ See "On Ancient Price Trends from the Early First Millennium B.C. to Heraclius I," *Finanzarchiv*, XV (1954/55), 507.

⁴⁴ Valerius Maximus 6.2.3; Velleius 2.4.4.

relative prosperity, the years of depression in the 130's must have brought widespread unemployment and unrelieved misery.

The factor in the situation which was most critical, which aroused the leaderless mob, which cried out for action, which led to the election of Tiberius Gracchus, and which influenced the direction his reform program would take was a shortage of grain and the consequent high price for bread, both chiefly the result of the Sicilian Slave War. This seems certain, even in the absence of literary evidence. Grain prices were already extremely high.⁴⁵ The city of Rome had long depended on Sicily for grain. Cicero quotes old Cato as saying that Sicily was "the nation's storehouse, the nurse at whose breast the Roman people is fed."⁴⁶ Rome was accustomed not only to receive the grain tithe in tribute from Sicily but also to purchase additional quantities of Sicilian grain on the open market. Perhaps as much as 25 or 30 per cent of the Sicilian crop thus furnished bread for Rome's thousands.⁴⁷ Frank says that Rome, even before this period, was dependent for about half of all her grain on overseas imports, most, no doubt, from Sicily.⁴⁸ The substantial diminution of the Sicilian tenth and of regular, additional imports from Sicily therefore meant a shortage of tremendous proportions in Rome. Speculation surely followed, as was usual at Rome.⁴⁹ It appears also that grain prices in the Mediterranean area, already abnormally high, were further inflated by unusual pirate activity in this period.⁵⁰ The result was that at a time of economic distress for many wage earners, the price of bread, the staple of their diet, shot up to prohibitive levels. In Rome there must have been danger of actual starvation. Perhaps it was at this time that Lucilius wrote

Deficit alma ceres,
Nec plebes pane potitur.⁵¹

⁴⁵ Fritz M. Heichelheim, in the *Finanzarchiv* article, also "Römische Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte," in *Historia Mundi* (Bern, 1956), IV, 412, estimates a rise of grain prices in the Mediterranean area of 500 per cent between 140 and 138 B.C. and 1200 per cent between 140 and 127 B.C. (A personal letter from Heichelheim informs me the date 124 B.C. in *Historia Mundi* is a misprint.) These rather precise figures are based on a study of recent papyrus finds bearing on wheat prices, especially in Egypt. The same author, in *Wirtschaftliche Schwankungen der Zeit von Alexander bis Augustus* (Jena, 1930), p. 77, has noted the possible effect of the Sicilian Slave War on western Mediterranean markets.

⁴⁶ *In Verrem* 2.2.5.

⁴⁷ Vincent M. Scramuzza, *Roman Sicily* (Vol. III of *Economic Survey*), pp. 240-63.

⁴⁸ *Economic History*, p. 92.

⁴⁹ Theodor Mommsen, *The History of Rome*, tr. W. P. Dickson (4 vols., New York, 1887), IV, 597.

⁵⁰ See Heichelheim, *Wirtschaftliche Schwankungen*, p. 77; also Henry A. Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World* (London, 1924), pp. 184 f.

⁵¹ 5.fr.214; collected by W. H. Warmington for the Loeb Classical Library, *Remains of Old Latin* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), III, 66.

To Tiberius Gracchus, it seemed that in one stroke all the social and economic changes of recent decades showed their direful consequences: the new *latifundia*, using slave labor, had drastically lowered the numbers of the old peasant stock; the immigration to Rome had given the city a numerous, noisy, and economically stricken human substratum; the new agriculture had concentrated on crops such as the olive and the grape, so that the agricultural area no longer could supply the city with grain and Rome was forced to depend on importation. Whatever proportion of this latter development was caused by the inability of Roman grain to compete with state and other imports was probably overlooked by Tiberius. Faced with the starveling proletariat and convinced that the problems were all of a piece, Tiberius saw an easy solution. He would relieve the overcrowded city and the unemployed by putting the latter on small farms. This would partially eliminate the extreme dependence on imports of overseas grain and at the same time inhibit the further development of the *latifundia*, or even reduce their numbers.

From a broader view, with longer perspective, it can now be seen that Tiberius oversimplified the problem, that the agricultural approach could not possibly have been extensive enough or popular enough with the lower-class Romans to solve the crisis, even if enough land had been available for distribution. Tiberius was not, in short, attempting to solve the most immediate, emphatically urban, problem. He was trying to turn back the clock. It must be admitted that Tiberius was actuated by other motives, of course. Appian reports, for example, his concern for the declining numbers of citizens eligible for army duty.⁵²

The economic program begun by Gaius Gracchus ten years after the death of his brother is itself eloquent testimony that the problems with which he tried to deal were essentially urban. This has been rather generally recognized, though there has been a tendency to believe that these urban problems existed primarily as the result of the failure to solve the agrarian crisis. The material already presented will sufficiently modify this view. A reinterpretation of the literary evidence, with consideration of the negative evidence and with assistance from some new numismatic information, will serve to bring into clearer focus the conditions which the younger Gracchus faced.

The end of the Numantine War (133 B.C.) and the Sicilian Slave War (shortly after) ended the drain on the treasury from these unprofitable conflicts, and it may be assumed that normal income was restored from mines and tribute. The rich kingdom of Pergamum came to Rome by the will of

⁵² Appian *Civil Wars* I.II.

Attalus III in 133 B.C., and although some years of military operations were required to establish firm Roman control, the full treasury appears immediately to have come to Rome; when in 132 the royal personal property was sold at public auction there, frenzied bidding was reported.⁵³ Regardless of the depressed situation of the wage earners, there were those whose purses permitted them to buy these evidences of having arrived in society. If the Attalid treasury was actually used, as Tiberius Gracchus proposed,⁵⁴ to stock the new small farms, this outlay may have had some effect on the city's economy. The numismatic study indicates at least some rise in public spending,⁵⁵ but there is exceptional difficulty in establishing chronology of coin issues in these years.

The continued absence of public construction, which was not resumed until Gaius Gracchus' program demanded it, does not indicate a very complete recovery of an economy so dependent on state spending in the area. It has already been pointed out that the only major item of public building in the 120's before the tribunate of Gaius Gracchus was a relatively small aqueduct built in 125. The need for another aqueduct so soon after the construction of the huge Aqua Marcia in the 140's implies that neither Tiberius Gracchus' land distribution scheme nor the depression did much to reduce the population of the city.

A reform of the coinage, which probably took place in the late 120's, appears to have been a deliberately inflationary measure and was perhaps designed to relieve the load of the debtor class. Outstanding numismatists of this period have assigned this reform—revaluation of the *denarius* from ten to sixteen *asses*—to the interval between 133 and 122 and have usually connected it with the programs of one of the Gracchi.⁵⁶ The present writer has shown conclusively that the early issues of the revalued *denarii* were quite small and consequently not connected with any large spending program.⁵⁷ Since the *as* was the money of account or of reckoning, the measure was certainly inflationary.⁵⁸ Later issues of the revalued *denarius* were much larger and are perhaps those which reflect the heavy spending of Gaius Gracchus. The implication, then, is that sometime during the 120's, most likely just before the election of Gaius, this revaluation was carried through because of

⁵³ Pliny *Natural History* 33.149.

⁵⁴ Plutarch *Tiberius Gracchus* 14.

⁵⁵ "Numismatic Light," table A, p. 144, pp. 149 ff.

⁵⁶ Sydenham, pp. xxviii f.; also Mattingly, in Appendix H of Sydenham, and in "Some New Studies of the Roman Republican Coinage," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XVIII (London, 1933), 3-58.

⁵⁷ "Numismatic Light," pp. 152 ff.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 153. For an opposing view, see Theodore V. Buttrey, Jr., "On the Retariffing of the Roman Denarius," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*, VII (1957), 57-65.

the deflated state of the monetary system, with the intention of giving relief to debtor groups. This move may have aided the poorer citizens somewhat, but it would have helped most the aristocrats who had been trying to keep up with the "Joneses"—the moneyed equestrians—and had run their estates into debt. This was probably the answer of the senatorial aristocrats to the continued economic difficulties of the 120's. But it was not enough.

Perhaps, as in the year when Tiberius Gracchus was elected to office, there was a particularly acute crisis in 123, again involving the grain supply and hence the price of bread, still abnormally high.⁵⁹ If Orosius may be trusted, a locust plague devoured the grain crops of Africa in 125 B.C.⁶⁰ This would naturally have affected grain prices all over the Mediterranean. A little later, a Roman commander, Fabius, confiscated grain in Spain and sent it to Rome.⁶¹ Since it was normally unprofitable as well as unnecessary to ship grain that distance to Rome, there must have been great need for it. On the motion of Gaius Gracchus, Fabius was censured by the Senate—presumably for mistreating allies—and payment was ordered.⁶² Certain of Gaius' own measures to ensure a stable grain supply through the building of granaries and to supply grain to the Roman poor at reduced prices certainly reflect ruinous fluctuations both in supplies and prices of grain and may also bear testimony to a particularly acute crisis, which brought about his election to office.

The heavy government outlays of 123 and 122 B.C. may have "pump primed" the economy of the city of Rome back to a semblance of prosperity. Besides the building of granaries and the subsidization of a grain supply for the poor, Gracchus also furnished clothing free to citizens in the army, constructed many miles of graded, expensive roads, and established colonies. Plutarch describes him as continually surrounded by numerous contractors and builders.⁶³ Gracchus' opponent in the tribunate in 122 B.C., Livius Drusus, with the backing of the Senate, also carried out a program to establish colonies, and some money would have been required for those which were actually established.⁶⁴ Ordinary public construction resumed in Rome in 121 B.C. when the consul, Opimius, built a basilica and refurbished the temple of Concord, and Q. Fabius Allobrogicus constructed the first of the great arches so typical of the Roman *fora* in later times.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ Heichelheim estimates that grain prices in 127 were twelve times those of 140. See fn. 45. His research shows a lowering of prices after 127 but indicates a continuing high level for many years. See *Finanzarchiv*, XV, 508.

⁶⁰ 5.11.2.

⁶¹ Plutarch *Gaius Gracchus* 6.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 6, 7.

⁶⁴ See my article "Livius Drusus," p. 31.

⁶⁵ Platner and Ashby, p. 590.

This enormous increase in spending in and about the city of Rome after 122 B.C.—corroborated in the author's numismatic statistical study⁶⁶—no doubt put an end, at least temporarily, to the long-drawn economic depression. The supply of grain may, for a time, have been sufficient to prevent a continuation of the especially onerous hardship of high-priced bread in a time of deflation and unemployment. Prices seem to have declined, but not to the level of mid-century.⁶⁷ The problem of an adequate grain supply was not permanently solved and continued to plague the Roman authorities for centuries. Shortages of grain seem always to have given rise to an outcry of indignation demanding immediate action, as in the days of the Gracchi.

The conclusions reached in this paper can be summarized as follows. It appears that both of the Gracchi were faced with approximately the same problems: an overcrowded city, unemployment, unrest, and economic depression, plus an acute crisis due to grain shortage and consequent high prices of bread. Tiberius tried to solve the dilemma by reestablishing a class of "sturdy yeomen" (to use a term Englishmen have applied to about the same sort of program); Gaius, recognizing the failure of his brother's agrarian law, adopted other methods. The depression, which was tied in closely with the reduced level of state spending in the immediate vicinity of Rome, seems to have endured almost continuously for about fifteen years. The measures of the younger Gracchus, plus other stabilizing factors, appear to have ended the worst of the depression by 122 B.C.

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⁶⁶ "Numismatic Light," pp. 150 f.; cf. table A, p. 144.

⁶⁷ See fn. 59.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Martin Van Buren and the Tariff of Abominations

ROBERT V. REMINI

ONE of the generally accepted interpretations in American history is that Martin Van Buren introduced the Tariff of Abominations into Congress in 1828 with the purpose of defeating it. Although there are many sources to support this theory, written in the main by Van Buren's political enemies who had no knowledge of his intentions, there are other sources, written by the authors of the tariff, which contradict it. This article suggests that the standard interpretation is open to serious question.

In 1826, Senator Van Buren dropped all pretense to a middle position between the Jacksonians and the followers of President John Quincy Adams and Secretary of State Henry Clay. Accusing the administration of federalism, a sincere conviction if not the motivating one, he joined the Jacksonian party and was enthusiastically welcomed by his new friends. This enthusiasm sprang in part from the knowledge that he controlled New York's thirty-six electoral votes along with a relatively large contingent of politicians he had formerly managed for William H. Crawford in the "disastrous" presidential election of 1824.¹

Few, if any, demands were placed on Van Buren by the Jacksonians after his conversion. He was expected to do his duty, particularly with respect to the thirty-six votes. But Van Buren was never one to play a minor part in political drama; during the following two years he conceived a rather exalted view of his duty and assumed for himself the role of chief campaign manager for Jackson in the election of 1828. No one questioned his right. No one challenged his stand as top congressional leader.

Almost immediately Van Buren began a one-man campaign in Jackson's behalf. In his bid for electoral votes in various sections of the country he made an extended trip through the coastal Southern states in the spring of

¹ Martin Van Buren, *Autobiography*, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick, American Historical Association *Annual Report* (Washington, D. C., 1902), II, 200, 513-16; Van Buren to Thomas Ritchie, Jan. 13, 1827, Van Buren Papers, Library of Congress.

1827. He spoke with all the political "lions," as well as his own many friends, and finally extracted a pledge from William H. Crawford to support Jackson for the presidency in the coming contest.² Although by all accounts it was a most successful journey, once back in Washington Van Buren undoubtedly was disturbed by the knowledge that he had wasted his time and talent on people who were already committed to Jackson. No one had to convince the majority of Southerners, least of all a New Yorker, that Adams had to be replaced in the White House. They cordially disliked the austere, bitter-tongued New Englander, for himself and his "nationalistic" ideas.

Clearly, as shrewd observers saw, it was the matter of capturing the West and Northwest, where Clay had won Ohio, Missouri, and Kentucky in 1824, that concerned most Jacksonians. If Van Buren really wished to make a worthwhile contribution to the strength of his new party, no better area existed for a brilliant display of his reputedly magical powers than the great Northwest. Never one to waste a promising opportunity,³ he accepted the challenge, examined what was available, and then, with unbecoming boldness, chose the tariff to further his designs.

Whether right or wrong, for good or ill, many Western farmers, especially the producers of hemp and raw wool, embraced the principle of protection as necessary to their economic well-being. To win their votes, therefore, it was necessary to assure them of Jacksonian adherence to this doctrine. Otherwise, it appeared unlikely that they could be coaxed away from Henry Clay and his presidential candidate. No other issue could produce the same effect.

Consequently, Van Buren's choice was an obvious one and, at the same time, dangerous if it were carried out for mere political purposes. The winning of Western votes, however, was not his only consideration when he decided to rework the tariff. Indeed, it subsequently became a lesser consideration. Repeatedly hounded by his constituents to help their industries now that he and his Jacksonian cohorts controlled the new Congress, he suddenly took sharp notice of their demands when his lieutenants in New York warned him that unless he did something to satisfy the clamor, "infinite mischief to the cause of General Jackson in this State" would result, and "we should have a difficult and doubtful conflict at the next elections." In addition, the warning called attention to the antimasonic furor that had be-

² Columbia, S. C., *Telescope*, Mar. 22, 1827; *Washington National Intelligencer*, Apr. 7, 1827; Charleston, *Southern Patriot*, Mar. 30, 1827; Thomas Cooper to Gulian C. Verplanck, Apr. 13, 1827, Verplanck Papers, New York Historical Society; *Raleigh Register*, May 4, 1827; Crawford to Van Buren, Dec. 21, 1827, Van Buren Papers; Van Buren, *Autobiography*, p. 368; Florence Weston, *The Presidential Election of 1828* (Washington, D. C., 1938), p. 158.

³ Van Buren to Azariah C. Flagg, Apr. 2, 1827, Flagg Papers, Columbia University Library.

gun to rise in New York,⁴ which was certain to "be turned in favor of Adams because he is not a mason." Van Buren and his friends, the letter concluded, must do "all that mortal men can do for the success" of the tariff, otherwise they were in serious trouble.⁵ Van Buren's party was in considerable jeopardy, and so too was his political machine, the Albany Regency.

The senator had spent years building the Regency, and its power and prestige constituted the solid core of his political strength in New York. The collapse or weakening of the Regency would irreparably damage his public career, if not terminate it. He himself said many times that he would rather lose "the Presidential election itself" than control of his own state.⁶ Thus with "a manufacturing excitement waging all over the state,"⁷ with mounting difficulties over the antimasonic issue, and with an election hardly a year off, he had to sponsor a new and improved tariff or risk his future at home.

To engineer a higher tariff through Congress, however, was certain to antagonize the Southerners who were sworn to the free trade position. To challenge their stand might goad them into some form of defiance.⁸ Nonetheless, Van Buren was aware that whatever the Southerners did, their defiance would not take the form of bolting the party and deserting to Adams.⁹ The President, to them, was the "acknowledged leader" of all manufacturers, and they wanted no part of him.¹⁰

The standard interpretation regarding the Tariff of Abominations is that Van Buren deliberately introduced it into Congress in order to kill it, as the best means of holding the South and West under the Jackson banner. By raising rates on raw materials out of all proportion to manufactured goods,

⁴ Van Buren was one of the first men to recognize the seriousness of the antimasonic movement and the political effect it would exert in New York. He was extremely worried about it, and his letters are full of admonition to friends to be very careful in handling the problem. Mordecai M. Noah, editor of the *Courier and Enquirer*, ridiculed the antimasons in his newspaper, thinking that was the best way to deal with them. When Van Buren read the articles he wrote to a mutual friend and asked him to "beseech" the editor to "let the Morgan affair alone. I am sick, heart sick at his reckless indiscretion upon that subject. It is passing strange that a man so capable can commit so great a blunder as unnecessarily & unwisely to run in the face of so irresistible [*sic*] a current of public feeling. . . . Do see Mr. Noah & beg him to save us from more mortification upon this subject that troubles us in the election field." Van Buren to Churchill C. Cambreleng, Oct. 23, 1827, Van Buren Papers.

⁵ William L. Marcy to Van Buren, Jan. 29, 1828, Van Buren Papers; Silas Wright to Flagg, Dec. 20, 1827, Flagg Papers, New York Public Library; Peter B. Porter to Henry Clay, Mar. 15, 1828, Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

⁶ Wright to Flagg, Dec. 20, 1827, Flagg Papers, New York Public Library.

⁷ Marcy to Van Buren, Jan. 29, 1828, Van Buren Papers.

⁸ Eventually South Carolina replied with the "Exposition and Protest." It was the best that could be done under the circumstances since secession or abandoning Jackson were out of the question at this time.

⁹ In a letter to Benjamin Knower, Van Buren stated that the South would give him no trouble with respect to the tariff. See Knower to Van Buren, Jan. 27, 1828, Van Buren Papers.

¹⁰ Richard K. Crallé, ed., *The Works of John C. Calhoun* (New York, 1854), III, 48-49.

he would compel New England to join the South to crush the bill. In the West and Northwest the obloquy of defeat would rest on the New England Adams men; in the South the credit for defeat would go to the Jacksonians. But when this plot failed by the "unexpected" passage of the law, the interpretation continues, Van Buren quickly revamped his strategy and paraded the Jackson party before Westerners as their benefactor and before Southerners as their undaunted champion, betrayed by the wickedness of the administration party.¹¹

This theory, though it sounds reasonable, contradicts the evidence of a relatively large number of documents written at the time by the men who were actually responsible for the enactment of this tariff and credits Van Buren with a "plot" that denies him all claim to political astuteness. An examination of the record shows that his actions and motives were quite different.

When the first session of the Twentieth Congress convened in December, 1827, there was little doubt that a new tariff would be attempted. The House committee on manufactures was therefore chosen by the speaker, Andrew Stevenson, with particular care. Although the majority of members were Jacksonians and pro-tariff, the committee continued under the chairmanship of Rollin C. Mallery of Vermont, an Adams supporter and a strong protectionist, whom the speaker felt he could not honorably remove.¹² "We pushed to have Mallory [*sic*] displaced," said Silas Wright, "and a true man put in his place. Perhaps the part of prudence has been pursued. . . . We however suppose the committee is perfectly safe, and certain it is that there is but one anti-tariff man upon it."¹³ The remaining members comprised a majority of five Jacksonians, all of whom were judged to be "of the most plastic materials in the hands of the leaders."¹⁴ The dominant figure of the committee, and the man who later acknowledged his authorship of the tariff,¹⁵ was the New Yorker and Regency member, Silas Wright, Jr.

Born in Massachusetts, Wright moved to New York and later settled in Albany where he studied law under the tutelage of Roger Skinner, an old Van Buren crony. Shortly after beginning his practice in Canton, St. Lawrence county, he was appointed surrogate, possibly at the direction of the Regency.

¹¹ This interpretation may be found in most standard texts.

¹² Stevenson had received many votes from the protariff men in his election as speaker in return for a promise to appoint a committee in favor of a protective measure. John Q. Adams, *Memoirs* (Philadelphia, 1874-77), VII, 369; Henry Storrs to ?, Dec. 15, 1827, Storrs Papers, New York Historical Society.

¹³ Wright to Flagg, Dec. 13, 1827, Flagg Papers, New York Public Library.

¹⁴ Storrs to ?, Dec. 15, 1827, Storrs Papers. Stephen Van Rensselaer told the President that Silas Wright was a "tool of Van Buren." Adams, *Memoirs*, VII, 397.

¹⁵ John A. Garraty, *Silas Wright* (New York, 1949), p. 61; Adams, *Memoirs*, VII, 397.

In 1823 he was elected to the state senate and three years later was sent to the House of Representatives.¹⁶ Neither a political hack nor an unprincipled spoilsman, he placed great emphasis on party discipline. He himself was unswervingly loyal to Van Buren and once declared that it was "a part of my political creed always to act with my honest friends, and to let the majority dictate that course of action."¹⁷ He was raised to membership in the Albany Regency and as a leader had occasion, during one political fight in the state legislature, to warn party members that they were "safe if they face the enemy, but that the first man we see *step to the rear, we cut down*."¹⁸ His friendship with Van Buren was as unique as it was long lasting. No other politician was as close to the Regency chieftain; certainly none was as faithful. In 1828 he was Van Buren's liaison with the House committee on manufactures.

On December 31 Mallary asked the House to give his committee power to subpoena reports and hear testimony both for and against the contemplated measure. Certain testy congressmen objected to the proposal as a crude device to waste time, but they were quickly overruled.¹⁹ The committee then proceeded to examine the petitions and memorials coming from all parts of the country, listen to the arguments of various witnesses, and study the documents submitted by the different governmental agencies.²⁰ The object of this very modern practice was to weigh both sides, declared Wright, and try to "extract an honest and fair rule or rate of protection to the woolen manufacturers." But they would not stop there, he said emphatically. They did not intend, in their "sympathy for manufactures, to overlook or forget the farmer."²¹

When the committee completed its self-imposed assignment and began the arduous task of writing a bill, the bland and smiling Van Buren was repeatedly seen "lurking" outside the committee room. He was in the habit, observed the Boston *Massachusetts Journal*, "of calling out the Jackson members of the committee daily, and many times a day, to hold talks with them; and it is presumed that nothing important was done or has been reported, without his knowledge and consent."²² The Washington *National Journal*

¹⁶ There is no need here to summarize Wright's full career in national and state politics. Suffice it to say that it was rather distinguished. His biographer, John A. Garraty, believes that had he lived he would have become a presidential candidate.

¹⁷ Wright to Flag, Dec. 20, 1827, Flag Papers, New York Public Library.

¹⁸ Wright to Flag, Jan. 28, 1826, *ibid*.

¹⁹ *Register of Debates*, 20 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 889-90.

²⁰ American State Papers, *Finance*, V, 778 ff.

²¹ Wright to Flag, Jan. 16, 1828, Flag Papers, New York Public Library.

²² Quoted in the Washington *National Journal*, Feb. 19, 23, 1828.

confirmed the report and sarcastically added: "We believe that everything has been arranged under the superintendence of Mr. Van Buren, who, from managing the Albany legislature, has kindly taken upon himself the management of congress, so far as relates to the tariff, &c. &c."²³ Duff Green, editor of the *United States Telegraph*, attempted to refute these claims by assuring his readers that the senator from New York "did once . . . call at the Committee room, and that was done upon the request of his friend, Mr. McLane of Delaware."²⁴ Green's protest notwithstanding, Van Buren was responsible for the tariff bill as eventually reported.

The recommendations of the Mallery committee were laid before the House of Representatives early in 1828. The friends of protection gasped at what they read and pointed with critical finger at section after section. A duty of ten cents per gallon was levied on molasses, and that on distilled spirits was raised ten cents. The duty on sail duck was established at nine cents per square yard, and those on hemp and flax were fixed at \$45 per ton to be increased \$5 each year until a maximum of \$60 was reached. Startling was the protection given raw wool. A charge of seven cents per pound was suggested, plus a 40 per cent ad valorem rate which would be increased 5 per cent annually until it amounted to 50 per cent. On *manufactured* wool, however, the story was different. An involved schedule was set up, depending on the price range, which did not begin to meet the bare minimum demanded by producers.²⁵ The bill was thus generous to a fault except to the industry that possibly stood in greater need of protection than any other.²⁶ Many farmers, because of the preferred treatment given raw materials, were pleased at the prospect of the measure; but manufacturers, especially woolen

²³ Feb. 19, 23, 1828.

²⁴ According to Green, Van Buren wished to introduce McLane to a member of the committee. McLane wanted the committee to interview a manufacturer from Delaware. Green went on to say that "not one word of conversation passed between either Mr. Van Buren or Mr. McLane [and committee members] . . . relative to the provisions of the bill which the committee would report, or even relative to the objects it would embrace." *United States Telegraph*, Feb. 26, 1828.

²⁵ On the surface these rates seem to be close to the Harrisburg proposals. (These were drawn up by some one hundred delegates from thirteen states, meeting in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on July 30, 1827, petitioning Congress for an "early and effectual interposition" to support the woolen interests in the country. The proposals advocated protection generally but were very specific with respect to raw wool and manufactured woollens, including a schedule of rates.) A close study of the schedule is necessary for an understanding of the important differences. Frank W. Taussig, *The Tariff History of the United States* (New York, 1931) gives a most satisfactory explanation of this highly complex problem, pp. 89-95.

²⁶ Although woolen mills had increased in number during the decade of the twenties, competition from abroad threatened their existence. Many new mills opened and shortly thereafter shut down, the tariff of 1824 notwithstanding. Owners publicly aired their difficulties—for example, at the Harrisburg Convention in 1827—and demanded that Congress rescue them from their plight.

manufacturers, distillers, rope makers, and shipbuilders, condemned it as worse than no tariff at all.²⁷

Did Wright and Van Buren purposely frame this bill to force the representatives of the industrial areas to kill it? Not when such tactics would excite New Yorkers and threaten the existence of the Albany Regency! Why then did they refuse the wool manufacturer sufficient protection? And how could they place heavy duties on hemp, molasses, sail duck, and iron when they were fully aware that distillers, merchants, shipowners, and shipbuilders would raise a howl that would be heard across the nation?

The answer was very simple, according to Silas Wright; no fact was omitted from the committee's deliberations. They started, he wrote, by raising the rates upon "all kinds of woolen cloths" as "high as *our own friends* in Pennsylvania, Kentucky & Ohio would vote them."²⁸ After that, he continued, they jumped the molasses rates in order to induce Westerners "to go for the woolens" provision. The hemp, lead, and flax rates were fixed for the identical reason of meeting the conditions imposed by particular states as the price of their support, and the duty on iron was "the *Sine qua non* with Pennsylvania."²⁹

Thus, in order to raise the rate as far as they dared on woolen cloths, the committee had to increase the schedule of rates on one commodity after another until the measure was so rigged that it could be eased through Congress with a minimum of pressure and exertion. But there was more involved. The bill was meant to bribe the Middle and Western states into declaring for Jackson in the forthcoming presidential race. For this reason raw materials and certain manufactured goods such as iron were favored. New England, on the other hand, with its large number of distillers, merchants, shipbuilders, and shipowners—and its preference for Adams—was to be discriminated against.

When the partisans of the administration in Congress read the lopsided bill, they were shocked and subsequently suspected the Jacksonians of plotting its destruction. "They do not really desire the passage of their own measure," wrote Henry Clay, "and it may happen in the sequel that what is desired by neither party commands the support of both."³⁰ Hezekiah Niles, perhaps the most vocal protectionist in the country, did not agree with Clay. "I will not

²⁷ Taussig says the ad valorem part of the duty was calculated to please the farmer and embarrass the manufacturers (p. 92).

²⁸ Possibly, too, the delicate feelings of Southerners helped stay their generous hand.

²⁹ Wright to Flagg, Apr. 7, 1828, Flagg Papers, New York Public Library.

³⁰ Clay to J. J. Crittenden, Feb. 14, 1828, quoted in Mrs. Chapman Coleman, *The Life of John J. Crittenden* (Philadelphia, 1873), I, 67.

say this bill was reported to be defeated, but it will be, unless materially altered."³¹

Southerners, too, were appalled and incorrectly inferred that their Jacksonian colleagues meant the bill as a ruse to fool constituents back home.³² They further reasoned that by simply beating off all efforts to amend and improve the bill that would make it more palatable to manufacturers, Northerners would join them on the final vote to kill it. No knowledge of a "plot" was necessary to tell them this. No "assurances" from Van Buren or anyone else were needed to show them what they must do. They had no choice.

But had Clay, Southerners, and other skeptics looked to the activities of Van Buren's machine in New York, they would have had a more precise knowledge of the intentions of those managing the tariff's progress through Congress. Early in the year the Regency-controlled New York legislature called on each congressman from that state "to make every proper exertion to effect such a revision of the tariff, as will afford a sufficient protection to the growers of wool, hemp and flax, and the manufacturers of iron and woollens."³³ Obviously this resolution could never have been passed without Van Buren's express consent. When Wright's bill was reported out of committee it was endorsed in a circular letter and sent to every Jackson editor in New York. The party's newspaper organ, the *Albany Argus*, lauded the measure as "National" in scope and deserving of the "cordial support" of every Republican representative. In addition, the newspaper warned that certain administration men meant to strangle the bill "unless the advantages of it apply exclusively to themselves."³⁴ One observer noted that the "Jackson presses in this state are already extremely abusive towards those members of congress who have exposed the injurious consequences of the bill as reported."³⁵ Azariah C. Flagg, the ranking Regency officer in New York during Van Buren's absence, said these "tories" would be blown "sky high." "[Our] ranks are firm," he told Wright. "My notion is, that you should press the bill, as you are doing, with such modifications as are obviously just, and if the *political spinners* of the East go against it, it will require many *long years* to extricate them from the odium. I think you have them on the hip."³⁶

Debate on Wright's bill opened in the House of Representatives on March

³¹ Niles to John W. Taylor, Feb. 14, 1828, Taylor Papers, New York Historical Society. As can be seen, right from the outset there was much gossip about the intentions of the framers. Most of the gossip was based on nothing more substantial than pure supposition.

³² John Tyler to Dr. Henry Curtis, Mar. 18, 1828, quoted in Lyon G. Tyler, *The Letters and Times of the Tylers* (Richmond, Va., 1884, 1896), II, 385.

³³ *Albany Argus*, Feb. 1, 1828.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 8, 12, 29, 1828.

³⁵ Ambrose Spencer to John W. Taylor, Apr. 5, 1828, Taylor Papers.

³⁶ Flagg to Wright, Mar. 13, 16, 1828, Flagg Papers, New York Public Library.

3, when Mallary disclaimed all connection with the report of his committee. He denounced what the members had done and then proposed a series of constructive amendments. His attack centered mainly on the woollens provisions, which had to be righted, he argued, if the American industrialists were to secure adequate protection. Mallary was answered by Silas Wright in a lengthy speech that took two days to deliver. Quoting largely from the testimony of witnesses heard by the committee, he insisted that the benefits "to manufactures should be given with express reference to the effect upon agriculture." Enough wool, he contended, is grown in this country to satisfy the needs of our mills, and it cannot be the policy of this government to hand over the industrial capital of the United States to the foreign exporters of raw materials. "The American Manufacturer, has, by the bill as reported, all the protection which he swears he needs."³⁷

When Van Buren received a copy of his friend's speech he promptly sent it to the Regency with specific instructions. "I send you the whole of Mr Wrights speech. I hope our friends will immediately have it struck off & extensively circulated. This is the accepted time. Let the catastrophe follow instead of precede its appearance."³⁸ At once the *Argus* began printing copies. Its editorials became wondrously solicitous of the farmer, condemned the Mallary amendments in unqualified terms, and authoritatively pronounced the administration men to be the disguised opponents of protection. Only the Jacksonians, trumpeted the newspaper, were the "real friends of a national tariff."³⁹

Although the Southerners in the House formed a solid phalanx to oppose all corrective amendments to the bill, including Mallary's, they were loath to play a purely defensive role. Impatient with the views of every congressman who differed with them, they at length seized the initiative and went to Wright with what they thought was an ultimatum. They would have no misunderstanding of their position, and they warned him, or so Wright reported to Flagg, that any contemplated increase of their "burdens by a still further increase upon the woollens" would force them to join "the Eastern" representatives of the manufacturing and commercial New England states. Together the Southerners and Easterners would move to strike out the molasses, iron, hemp, and flax provisions. If they were successful, Wright went on to state, the Jacksonians from Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Kentucky would go the rest of the way and kill what remained.⁴⁰ It was an idle threat since

³⁷ *Register of Debates*, 20 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 1836-70.

³⁸ Van Buren to Flagg, Mar. 31, 1828, Flagg Papers, Columbia University Library.

³⁹ Apr. 4, 8, 11, 22, 1828.

⁴⁰ Wright to Flagg, Apr. 7, 1828, Flagg Papers, New York Public Library.

most Southerners were extremely reluctant to join New Englanders in any kind of action; besides, they believed that the unamended measure was more certain of quick defeat.

The threat, so-called, intimidated no one, least of all Van Buren. He had no intention of increasing the rate on woolen manufactures and consequently, on April 9, 1828, the Mallary amendments were defeated *in toto*.

Despite this initial victory, Wright was still perturbed about a possible East-South alliance against the tariff and discussed his fears with Flagg. "It is still in the power of the Eastern and Southern men to destroy the bill," he wrote, "and the Eastern men will do it if the Southern will help them."⁴¹ These fears, possibly shared by Van Buren, may account for the sudden introduction of an amendment to reduce the duty on raw wool by three cents. Perhaps it was felt that the reduction would attract a few New England votes. Perhaps it was intended as added guarantee against a possible East-South alliance. In any event the amendment passed, but by the closest possible margin. A single vote separated it from defeat.

By now a few New England representatives began wondering whether they could accept the tariff in its present form. "Can we go the *hemp*, iron, spirit and molasses," asked Daniel Webster, "for the sake of any woolen bill?"⁴² A good many other men asked themselves the same question, and on April 22 they gave their collective answer. By the vote of 105 to 94 the bill carried through the House. Almost the entire delegations from the Western and Middle states supported the measure. New England was split. All the Southern representatives, with the exception of three, remained obdurate to the end.

In high spirits Wright notified the Regency of their victory. "May it live through the Senate, but I fear and tremble. We have made a few of the Yankees swallow, though most of them have voted against the bill. If our friends wish to do any thing further on this subject, they should recommend to the Senate the passage of the bill in its present shape."⁴³

Wright had reason to "fear and tremble." It was the considered opinion of most congressmen that the tariff could never meet the acid test of Senate approval.⁴⁴ There the Southerners were proportionately in greater numbers and much more confident of themselves. A few of them excelled in parliamentary debate and were gifted with speaking talents of the highest

⁴¹ Wright to Flagg, Apr. 13, 1828, *ibid.*

⁴² Webster to Joseph E. Sprague, Apr. 13, 1828, quoted in Claude H. Van Tyne, ed., *The Letters of Daniel Webster* (New York, 1902), pp. 135-36.

⁴³ Wright to Flagg, Apr. 22, 1828, Flagg Papers, New York Public Library.

⁴⁴ Michael Hoffman to Flagg, Apr. 27, 1828, *ibid.*; Adams, *Memoirs*, VII, 531.

order. With Vice-President John C. Calhoun as presiding officer, to dispose of all ties, the balance was weighted in their favor.

The bill went first to the Senate committee on manufactures and on May 5 was reported out. Accompanying it were seventeen amendments to bring the tariff closer to the hopes and wishes of the commercial and manufacturing classes of the country. With cool, calculating logic, never deviating from their original position, Southern senators assured themselves that its "fate" rested on their "ability to preserve the bill in its present shape. If we can do so, it will be rejected."⁴⁵

The task of protecting the measure and ensuring its swift passage in the Senate fell squarely on Van Buren. Almost immediately upon hearing the committee's report and examining the proposed amendments, he was at work devising some form of strategy. Early in May he questioned Silas Wright about the number of people in New York engaged in the iron, wool growing, and wool manufacturing industries. He was told that some "20,000 operation hands" were making iron, while approximately "40 persons," with a capital averaging \$40,000 each, operated woolen factories. As to "wool raisers," Wright did not know the precise number but estimated that there were at least six and a half million sheep in New York.⁴⁶ Van Buren did not state in writing what he planned to do with these figures, but it appears likely that they were to justify his strategic move of accepting the recommendations of the committee on manufactures where they applied to woollens. He could not lower the rates on raw materials without offending his political friends in the West. Since wool constituted the greatest point of controversy, and since the rate on raw wool had already been lowered in the House, the obvious move was to raise the rate on woolen manufactures. Although he stated emphatically that he would have "preferred to pass that Bill in the shape in which it came to us,"⁴⁷ and although he had no desire to grant any favor to New Englanders, he had to make some change in order to counter the strong opposition which was prepared to crush the tariff. When Wright was informed of the move he undoubtedly experienced a sense of disappointment, since he had expressed the hope that his bill would survive the Senate unamended. He was enough of a realist, however, to recognize with Van Buren that the change was essential if they were going to accomplish their primary purpose of enacting a tariff during that session of Congress.

Once he committed himself to adjusting the woollens schedule, Van Buren

⁴⁵ John Tyler to Dr. Henry Curtis, May 1, 1828, quoted in Tyler, *Letters*, I, 387.

⁴⁶ Van Buren to Wright, Wright to Van Buren, May, 1828, Van Buren Papers.

⁴⁷ Van Buren, "Notes," dated May, 1828, Van Buren Papers. He also collected a number of extracts from the writings of Washington, the elder Adams, Jefferson, and Madison, which favored a tariff. He appeared to be gathering material to justify his entire position.

was faced with the problem of dealing with his colleagues from Pennsylvania, Missouri, Kentucky, and Ohio. They had long since declared that the woolen duties were as high as they would vote them. He spoke with them, or so it can be presumed from the remark of one senator.⁴⁸ No record exists of what Van Buren said or what reaction he received, but in all probability he presented them with the choice of greater protection for the woolens industry or no bill at all. Whatever arguments he employed must have been convincing. When the vote was taken on May 6 to raise the duty on manufactured wool to a 40 per cent ad valorem rate with a 5 per cent increase each year until it reached 50 per cent, the amendment passed, 24 to 22.⁴⁹

This was the decisive vote! A few Southerners, in their anger and bitterness, made all sorts of wild charges, particularly against Van Buren, and their fierce accusations did not abate with time. What had happened was all too apparent. The strategy for defeating the bill had been based on keeping it unamended. Now the measure had been sufficiently improved to give many New Englanders a plausible excuse for accepting it.⁵⁰ One Massachusetts manufacturer informed Representative John Bailey that he was "perfectly satisfied with the Bill as amended in the Senate."⁵¹

There followed, just as the Southerners had threatened, the inevitable attacks on molasses, hemp, and other indispensable provisions of the measure, but they were beaten down.⁵² During the voting on these important amendments Van Buren switched sides, and the switch was most significant. He voted *for* the woolens amendment, but *against* all the others. Had he really wished to kill the bill, as has been claimed, he could easily have done so by opposing the woolens revision.⁵³ The resulting tie would have been broken by Calhoun and the amendment defeated.⁵⁴ Without the improved woolens

⁴⁸ The remark had to do with Van Buren's efforts at conciliation regarding the spirits provision. The New York senator claimed that "the manufacturer of rum would receive an encouragement from the duty on foreign spirits." Senator Henry S. Foote of Connecticut all but laughed in his face. See Foote's remarks on the Senate floor, May 8, 1828, *Register of Debates*, 20 Cong., 1 sess., p. 748.

⁴⁹ Unfortunately, neither the debates on this bill nor a record of the individual voting by senators on the many amendments are given in full in the *Register of Debates*. *Niles' Weekly Register* furnished most of the voting information used in this paper.

⁵⁰ Webster, however, had a few remaining doubts and went to Adams for advice. Adams, *Memoirs*, VII, 534.

⁵¹ Samuel Babcock to John Bailey, May 7, 1828; J. B. David to Bailey, May 21, 1828, Bailey Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; Thomas Cooper to Gulian C. Verplanck, May 15, 1828, Verplanck Papers.

⁵² Of the seventeen amendments suggested by the Senate committee, ten were defeated.

⁵³ Or, he could have induced his friend Levi Woodbury of New Hampshire to do the killing for him. Woodbury voted against the final tariff even though he voted for the various amendments to improve the schedules, including the woolens. His vote was opposite to Van Buren's on every important amendment except the woolens.

⁵⁴ Calhoun, *Works*, III, 50, 51.

schedule, Webster and other New England senators would have joined Southerners on the final vote and rejected the entire tariff.⁵⁵

Because Van Buren switched sides and was seemingly inconsistent in his voting on the amendments he was accused of deception. Senator Tazewell of Virginia supposedly cornered him one day and said: "Sir, you have deceived me once; that was your fault; but if you deceive me again the fault will be mine."⁵⁶ Actually Van Buren's voting was quite consistent with his desire to see the tariff safely through Congress. There was never any deception; Southerners simply chose to believe that there was.

On May 13, after a vain attempt by Robert Y. Hayne to postpone action indefinitely, the entire measure came up for a final vote and passed by the count of 26 to 21.⁵⁷ The voting by senators from the different sections of the nation followed a pattern that had been established at the beginning of the decade, but the hostility of the South and the indecision of New England had at last been overcome.

The House of Representatives took exception to two minor Senate amendments, but a compromise was worked out in committee.⁵⁸ With respect to the woolens, Richard Wilde of Georgia moved a change from the Senate's 40 per cent ad valorem to a 30 per cent ad valorem in order to "test the principle, and allow him time to discuss the merits of the bill." But his proposal was rejected, 44 to 83, and the Senate's amendment sustained, 85 to 44. Wright voted with the majority in both instances.⁵⁹

Many genuine friends of the protective system were disgusted with the tariff of 1828, and they called it "abominable." Few newspaper editors dared to defend it, although Van Buren's organ was an exception. The *Albany Argus* ascribed to the Jacksonian Congress "the merit of having given to the country a national tariff, which protects, with a just and natural equality, all the great interests of the nation."⁶⁰

Van Buren's studied course of action is fairly discernible during these months of conflict. Because of conditions in New York he was obliged to raise

⁵⁵ *The Works of Daniel Webster* (Boston, 1853), I, 165. Webster is very clear that without this amendment he would have voted against the final bill. See also Taussig, *Tariff*, p. 101.

⁵⁶ Tyler, *Letters*, III, 69 n.

⁵⁷ Daniel Webster, Thomas Hart Benton, John Eaton, and Van Buren were among the majority.

⁵⁸ McDuffie moved that the House insist on disagreement to the third and fifth amendments. (Woolens was the fourth amendment). Wright objected "not upon the ground of any principle contained in the bill, but from the risk of its failing entirely." In the final compromise, the fifth amendment was adhered to but the third was slightly revised. *Register of Debates*, 20 Cong., 1 sess., p. 2576.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 2700, 2708.

⁶⁰ May 20, 1828. For the opposite view see *Niles' Weekly Register*, May 17, June 28, July 26, 1828.

the tariff; but simultaneously he used the issue to promote Andrew Jackson's election to the presidency in 1828. Quite certain of the South's loyalty to his candidate, he framed a bill to win votes in those sections where he believed the general needed them most. New England was discounted as unalterably attached to Adams. The Western, Northwestern, and Middle states, therefore, became the object of his schemes. With farmers he was magnanimous.⁶¹ Then he raised the duties on the principal commodities of Kentucky, Missouri, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, and Indiana in the hope that these states would reciprocate by voting the Jackson ticket. After that, it was a matter of jockeying a few rates up and down to win passage of the bill through Congress.

At no time did Van Buren intend to defeat this tariff. His own words and actions at the time, and those of his closest friends, amply document this fact.⁶² Unfortunately, the bill proved to be intensely sectional in character, and later, when he was spoken of as a candidate for the presidency, he tried to lie his way out of an embarrassing situation. Southerners, particularly, had long memories and did not forget what they came to believe was their "betrayal." John C. Calhoun never ceased grinding his teeth over this "Northern perfidy," but his opinions were certainly not typical of Southern feeling toward Van Buren personally. His charges were repeated almost verbatim by future historians even though Calhoun admitted that they were not based on his "own personal knowledge."⁶³ As a matter of fact, in 1828 many Southerners were so well disposed toward Van Buren that his cooperation was asked "in soothing over Southern friends under their fears & sufferings by the . . . Tariff."⁶⁴

In later years, when he was running for the presidency, Van Buren swore that he had been forced to support the measure on orders from the New York legislature.⁶⁵ But when the *New York American* made this same charge in 1828, the *Argus* attacked the newspaper and called the editor a "falsifier."⁶⁶ In 1829, Van Buren "authorized a public and direct denial"⁶⁷

⁶¹ He believed this was fundamentally Jeffersonian in concept, and Van Buren prided himself as a sincere and dedicated follower of Jefferson's political philosophy. It should also be mentioned that he had a \$20,000 investment in sheep raising. Speech delivered by Van Buren in Albany on July 10, 1827, *Albany Argus*, July 24, 1827.

⁶² "I know," said Wright to Speaker Stevenson, ". . . that we are going to pass a tariff. . . ." James Gordon Bennett, manuscript diary, entry for June 12, 1831, New York Public Library.

⁶³ Calhoun, *Works*, III, 48-49.

⁶⁴ Woodbury to Van Buren, July 1, 1828, Van Buren Papers.

⁶⁵ Van Buren, "Notes," dated Aug. 4, 1840; Wright to J. S. Watkins, Feb. 9, 1835, Van Buren Papers; Marcy to Knowler, May 6, 1832, Marcy Papers, Library of Congress; Thomas Hart Benton, *Mr. Benton's Letter to Major General Davis* . . . (Washington, D. C., 1835), pp. 9-10.

⁶⁶ *Albany Argus*, May 20, Oct. 31, 1828.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, Mar. 3, 1829.

that he either opposed the Tariff of Abominations or voted for it solely in compliance with the wishes of New York.⁶⁸

Despite some abuse, he did gain a number of friends by his tariff stand. New England, which was undergoing an economic transformation, later became a confirmed advocate of the protective system. To Edward Everett this had unfortunate political consequences because everyone knew that "Van B is of course stronger in all the tariff States."⁶⁹ In Congress, there was "much good feeling in all the NE delegation for Mr V. B.," wrote another representative. "On the subject of the Tariff and internal improvements, the feelings of the western states the middle & N England states are *in almost perfect consonance*."⁷⁰

By and large, in 1828, Van Buren was eminently satisfied with his work on the tariff. He had avoided party conflict on the issue in New York and had removed its usefulness to the administration in the campaign. Jackson did win the West and Northwest in the election of 1828, although his own personal popularity probably had more to do with it than the Tariff of Abominations. What is important, however, is that Van Buren thought the tariff would play a more decisive part than it actually did. As an example of his political astuteness it was one of his most successful accomplishments. It was also one of the most dangerous issues he ever tampered with in his life.

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⁶⁸ Van Buren had been shrewd enough, however, to lay his instructions on the table during the tariff debate and "point to them, as his power of attorney, and as containing the directions for his vote." The words within quotation marks are those of Daniel Webster made on the Senate floor, May 9, 1828. *Register of Debates*, 20 Cong., 1 sess., p. 750.

⁶⁹ Everett to Alexander H. Everett, Dec. 2, 1828, Everett Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

⁷⁰ J. DeGraff to Flagg, Dec. 27, 1828, Flagg Papers, New York Public Library. See also Wright to Van Buren, Dec. 9, 1828, Van Buren Papers.

A Postscript to the Stamp Act

George Grenville's Revenue Measures: A Drain on Colonial Specie?

JACK M. SOSIN

HAVING achieved a major revision in British policy for the American colonies with the enactment of the Molasses Act of 1764 and the Stamp Act of the following year, George Grenville, the first lord of the Treasury, had some cause for satisfaction. After the passage of his final American revenue measure, as chancellor of the Exchequer¹ he wrote to his predecessor late in March, 1765, that "we are drawing towards the close of our Public Busyness," which had passed, he felt, at least "as well as could be expected."² Ironically, the minister was shortly to fall from power ostensibly on the issue of the Regency bill, an item he had flattered himself would not meet with the difficulties with which it was afterwards attended.³ This might also have been said of his latest revenue measure for the colonies, the Stamp Act, but there was some justification for the minister's satisfaction, for there was at the time little to indicate that the American tax would raise the controversy it subsequently did.

In view of the state of British finances, Grenville could survey the accomplishments of his administration with justifiable pride. Faced with the problem of the heavy financial burden on Great Britain after the Seven Years' War, he could note with evident satisfaction to one of his secretaries at the Treasury, Charles Jenkinson, that the disposable surplus, consigned to the sinking fund to retire the national debt, stood at £170,000 more for the first quarter of 1765 than for the same period of the previous year.⁴ The beneficial state of the British finances was due, in part, to the decision to relieve the burden on the mother country by taxing the American colonies for the sup-

¹ Grenville was the first man since Henry Pelham, who died in 1754, to be concurrently first lord of the Treasury and chancellor of the Exchequer.

² Grenville to Francis Dashwood, Baron Le Despencer, Mar. 28, 1765, George Grenville Letterbook, St. 7, Vol. II, Stowe Collection, The Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. Selections from the Grenville Letterbook are quoted with the permission of The Huntington Library.

³ Grenville to James, Lord Strange, May 23, 1765, *ibid.*

⁴ Grenville to Jenkinson, Apr. 11, 1765, *ibid.*

port of the royal garrisons to be stationed in the territories in North America acquired from France and Spain at the Peace of Paris in 1763.⁵

The decision to tax the colonists for the defense of North America had not originated with the Grenville ministry; it was a legacy from the preceding administration of the Earl of Bute. This is clearly revealed by an episode in the last month of the Bute regime, when Charles Townshend, the erratic first lord of trade, proposed that the Molasses Act of 1733 (6 Geo. II, c. 13) be amended and that the duty on molasses be lowered to ensure more effective payment of the tax. No action was taken on Townshend's apparently unauthorized proposal, for the matter was deferred until the following session. The prominent members of the ministry in attendance in the House of Commons at the time Townshend made his proposal had not supported the first lord of trade. When informed of the incident, George III himself was incensed at Townshend's behavior. He wrote Bute that not only the Treasury members but the prominent administration leaders in the House should have spoken out on the matter of an American tax, for "this subject was new to none," having been considered "this whole winter." All ought to have declared, the king felt, that during the next parliamentary session "some tax" would be introduced in the House of Commons but that more information would be required before a proper measure could be presented.⁶ It fell to Grenville as the first lord of the Treasury and chancellor of the Exchequer in the succeeding ministry to obtain the necessary information and to put through legislation to implement the decision arrived at during the Bute administration. It is doubtful whether Bute, the Scot amateur at the Treasury, and Sir Francis Dashwood, the notorious dilettante at the Exchequer, who preceded Grenville in office, had the acumen or ability for this purpose.

⁵ Victor L. Johnson, "Internal Financial Reform or External Taxation: Britain's Fiscal Choice, 1763," American Philosophical Society, *Proceedings*, XCVIII (1954), 31-37, argues that internal financial reform would have met the need for imperial revenue. The above cited estimate, however, demonstrates that British revenue was sufficient to defray the cost of the American army. A principle was at stake for, as Grenville declared to the House of Commons in January and February, 1767, the colonies should help pay for the cost of their own defense. See the account of the debates at that time given in William Rouet to Baron Mure, Jan. 27 and Feb. 21, 1767, *Caldwell Family Papers, Selections from the Family Papers Preserved at Caldwell*, ed. William Mure (2 vols. in 3 pts., Glasgow, 1854), II, Pt. ii, 100-101, 107-108; Grenville to the Earl of Buckinghamshire, Jan. 27, 1767, Royal Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Lothian Preserved at Blicking Hall* (London, 1905), p. 275; and William Samuel Johnson to Jared Ingersoll, Feb. 28 [should be Feb. 18], 1767, William Samuel Johnson Papers, "Letters by, 1767-1793," Vol. II, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford. In commenting on sentiment in the House of Commons in 1764, Jasper Mauduit, colonial agent for Massachusetts, said that no "Man of Consequence" would "stand in his place" and declare that America must not bear at least the greater part of its own government. Mauduit to the speaker of the Massachusetts Assembly, Apr. 7, 1764, *Jasper Mauduit Agent in London for the Province of the Massachusetts Bay 1762-1765*, Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, LXXII (Boston, 1918), 147n.

⁶ George III to the Earl of Bute, Mar. ?, 1763, *Letters from George III to Lord Bute, 1756-1766*, ed. Romney Sedgwick (London, 1939), pp. 201-202.

The specific task of devising the new American revenue measures fell to Grenville's secretaries at the Treasury, Charles Jenkinson and Thomas Whately. In the course of his investigations on the suitability of a stamp duty for the colonies, the latter corresponded with friends in America seeking information on the probable revenue to be expected from such a measure. It was in this connection that Whately wrote in November, 1764, to John Temple, surveyor general of the customs for the Northern District in America, that the money raised by the projected revenue bills would be applied for the troops in America and "consequently will not be sent hither in order to be sent back."⁷ While the stamp bill was before parliament the following March, Whately wrote again to Temple pointing out that all the money raised by the recent revenue measures was to be appropriated for the defense of the colonies and consequently would not be "drawn out of them." The only effect of the tax, he predicted, would be that Great Britain would send so much less money to America for the support of the troops than before. After all, he reflected, "we shall still send by much the greater part of the money required for that purpose."⁸

It was not until after the passage of the Stamp Act, however, that the Treasury took specific measures to implement the procedure suggested by Whately in his correspondence with Temple. Grenville himself, exhausted by the parliamentary session and suffering from a severe cold, retired to his country seat to recover. While at Wotton he continued to receive reports from his subordinates on the status of Treasury affairs, and he was able to write Jenkinson on April 11 of his satisfaction on the state of the finances.⁹ That same day he notified Whately that he had "once or twice" spoken to Jenkinson about writing the commissioners of the customs "to stop the money received for the Customs in America" from being remitted to England and "for settling that matter with the [Army] Pay Office" so that all "those Sums whatever they shall be" might be applied to the public service in America and "replaced here." Grenville had forgotten to mention this matter in his letter that day to Jenkinson. He now ordered Whately to refer the affair to his fellow secretary and to "let me know what has been done in it as no Time should be lost," for if not prevented, money might be soon remitted to England on that account, he warned. This would "occasion great Clamour," he predicted, and would "give just Cause of Complaint as being contrary, to what was publicly declared upon this Subject."¹⁰

⁷ Whately to John Temple, Nov. 5, 1764, *The Bowdoin and Temple Papers*, Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 6th ser., IX (Boston, 1897), 38.

⁸ Whately to Temple, n.d., *ibid.*, p. 51.

⁹ Grenville to Jenkinson, Apr. 11, 1765, Grenville Letterbook, St. 7, Vol. II.

¹⁰ Grenville to Whately, Apr. 11, 1765, *ibid.*

Two days later Jenkinson informed the first lord of the Treasury that he had "settled a plan for remitting the American Revenue." It concerned no one, he wrote, but the receiver general of the customs and those persons who had contracted to remit the pay of the troops. Jenkinson had drafted a letter to the commissioners of the customs, so that they might apprise their collectors in America of the intention of the Treasury, but had not dared to order them "expressly not to send any money home" for he had thought this "too delicate a point to be the subject of an express order." Nevertheless, he had endeavored to "convey that meaning" and had explained it more fully to officials in the Custom House. Moreover, he suggested, it was too late to prevent the sending to England of any money that might arise out of the settlement of the finances for the April quarter. There would be sufficient time, he pointed out, after the meeting of the Treasury Board, to send instructions that would regulate the payments from America for the quarter ending July 5.¹¹

Later that spring, the provisions of the plan developed by Jenkinson were more fully explained by his fellow secretary at the Treasury when Whately again wrote to the surveyor general of the customs for the Northern District in America. Whately found that the colonists were still alarmed at the idea that America would be drained of money by the new taxes. "The fact is," he informed John Temple, "that no more will be remitted hither than will just be sufficient to pay the expence of office here"—which he expected would be an "inconsiderable" amount. Notwithstanding all of the new duties, "a very considerable remittance" must still be made to America for the support of the military establishment, he pointed out, estimating that at least two thirds of the current expenditure would continue to be met by Great Britain. Speculating that the "Colonies will not furnish one third of the present expence," he then outlined the procedure by which the money raised by the American taxes would be employed. Under this plan the paymaster general, desiring to remit money for subsistence and other expenses, would apply to the commissioners of customs or stamps for bills or orders upon their colonies. In consequence, these officials would pay over the money in their hands to the deputy paymaster. Whatever sums should be thus advanced in America would be paid in England by the paymaster general to the commissioners of customs or stamps who would then pay the same amount into the Exchequer as American revenue.¹²

Almost the last act of the Treasury under the Grenville regime was to

¹¹ Jenkinson to Grenville, Apr. 13, 1765, *The Jenkinson Papers 1760-1766*, ed. Ninetta S. Jucker (London, 1949), p. 360.

¹² Whately to Temple, June 12, 1765, *Bowdoin and Temple Papers*, p. 59.

issue definite instructions to ensure that money raised in the colonies by the new revenue measures would not leave America. On the very day, July 10, 1765, that Grenville was ordered to relinquish his seal of office,¹³ Whately wrote to the stamp commissioners that it was the opinion of the Treasury Board that all of the produce of the American duties "arisen or to arise by Virtue of any British Act of Parliament and appropriated to the publick Service" should be paid to the deputy paymaster in America or to the persons authorized by that official to receive the revenue in order that the duties might at all times be immediately applied to defray the subsistence of the troops and any military expenses incurred in the colonies. An order had already been sent to the paymaster general in England directing him to transmit instructions to the deputy paymaster to receive such sums as the distributors of the stamps should have to remit to England, issuing to the distributors bills upon the paymaster general for the sums to be received, payable to the receiver general of the Stamp Office. The money was to be applied to the paymaster of the forces and to be accounted for by the deputy paymaster as if he had received the same amount from the paymaster in England. The stamp commissioners were now directed to give notice of the arrangement to their officers in the colonies. The commissioners were to transmit to their subordinates proper instructions to pay over such sums as they should receive in account of their revenue to the deputy paymaster, taking bills upon the paymaster general payable to the receiver general of the Stamp Office.¹⁴

The point became an academic one in the North American colonies in view of the fact that the stamp duties were not collected because of the widespread resistance to the payment of the tax. The evidence cited here, however, will go far to discount the contention of some historians, such as Andrews, Miller, and Van Tyne,¹⁵ that the British revenue measures would have drained the colonies of specie and impaired the colonial economy. The moderate view of Channing and Gipson,¹⁶ based on the Whately letters, seems to be the more valid statement of the case. What has not been noted by historians hitherto are the facts presented above, that Grenville was particularly

¹³ See the entry for July 10, 1765, in "Mr. Grenville's Diary of Memorable Transactions," *The Grenville Papers*, ed. William James Smith (4 vols., London, 1852-53), III, 211.

¹⁴ Whately to the Stamp Commissioners, July 10, 1765, Public Record Office, Treasury Board Papers, I, bundle 439, ff. 94-95, transcript in Library of Congress.

¹⁵ Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Background of the American Revolution* (New Haven, Conn., 1924), p. 137; John C. Miller, *Origins of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1948), p. 118; Claude H. Van Tyne, *The Causes of the War of Independence* (Boston, 1922), p. 144.

¹⁶ Edward Channing, *A History of the United States* (6 vols., New York, 1921-32), III, 44; Lawrence H. Gipson, *The Coming of the Revolution, 1763-1775* (New York, 1954), p. 79.

aware of the danger to the colonial economy presented by his revenue measures and that the Treasury under his administration developed a specific procedure to prevent specie being drained from the colonies. As designed, Grenville's American taxes were intended to defray the expenses of the royal army for the protection of the North American continent, and the revenue raised for this purpose would have remained in the colonies.

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Charles Stedman's *History of the American War**

R. KENT NEWMYER

CONTEMPORARY histories of the American Revolution have suffered severely from the ravages of modern criticism. In fact, no fewer than nine of the histories of the Revolution written during the Revolution and in the half-century following it have now been found to be plagiarized. So general was the practice that one is led to the conclusion that it was the rule rather than the exception. Probably the explanation of this spate of plagiarized histories is found in the great demand for reading material (particularly about America) and the numerous difficulties attached to producing scholarly work. The would-be historian was strongly tempted to forego the work and expense of sound research for the quicker and less burdensome paste-pot and scissors method.

Dr. Orin G. Libby was the first to undertake a thorough critical investigation of these early American histories. His efforts were well rewarded. Seven histories of the Revolution whose reliability had not previously been questioned were found to have been plagiarized in sufficient degrees to destroy their value as usable sources of the Revolution.¹ The most notable of this group were the works of William Gordon and David Ramsay. The principal source of all these pseudo histories was the *Annual Register*.² More

* The purpose of this article is to reevaluate Stedman's *History* as a source of the American Revolution. It is not intended that the observations made should carry with them an ethical judgment of Stedman or of his contemporaries.

¹ Dr. Libby's findings are to be found in three articles: "A Critical Examination of William Gordon's History of the American Revolution," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, I (1899), 367-88; "Some Pseudo Histories of the American Revolution," *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XIII, pt. 1 (1900), 419-25; "Ramsay as a Plagiarist," *American Historical Review*, VII (1902), 697-703. The seven pseudo histories are: William Gordon, *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America* (4 vols., London, 1788; 3 vols., New York, 1789); David Ramsay, *History of the American Revolution* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1789; London, 1793); William Russell, *The History of America* (2 vols., London, 1778), Appendix; James Murray, *Impartial History of the Present War in America* (3 vols., Newcastle upon the Tyne, ca. 1778); anon., *An Impartial History of the War in America between Great Britain and Her Colonies from its Commencement to the end of the year 1779* (London, 1780); anon., *The History of the Origin, Rise and Progress of the War in America between Great Britain and Her Colonies, from its Commencement in the Year 1764 to the time of General Gage's Arrival at Boston in 1774* (London, n.d.; Boston, 1780); anon., *The History of the War in America between Great Britain and Her Colonies from its commencement to the end of the Year 1778* (2 vols., Dublin, 1779; London, 1780; Boston, 1781).

² *The Annual Register, Or A View of the History, Politics, and Literature, For the Year 1758* —(4th ed., London, 1758—).

recent investigations have added substantially to the findings of Dr. Libby. John Marshall's *Life of Washington*—long credited as “able, accurate, and comprehensive”—was found to have been primarily a compilation of the *Annual Register* and other secondary sources.³ A recent addition to the list was Thomas Anburey's *Travels Through the Interior Parts of America*, long considered a primary source of some consequence.⁴ The addition of Anburey's *Travels* brought the total number of plagiarized histories of the Revolution to nine—all based in large part upon the *Annual Register*.

Clearly, the *Annual Register* emerges as a source of first importance. It was begun in England in 1758, by Robert Dodsley, with Edmund Burke as editor, a position he held for almost thirty years. Among the subjects covered—natural history, poetry, essays, book reviews—there appeared a series of chapters entitled “The History Of Europe.” These pages contained a serial account of historical events of a miscellaneous nature. During the years of the Revolution, they were devoted to describing the events of the war between England and her colonies. These convenient accounts served as the main source of the histories mentioned.

In light of the questionable practices of these early historians, it is remarkable that any history of that period could have emerged with its reputation unscathed. Such, however, has been the case with Charles Stedman's *History of the American War*.⁵ This work has not only retained a reputation for veracity but has, by process of elimination, become one of the two most respected contemporary accounts of the Revolution (the other being the *Annual Register*) and as such has been employed frequently as a trustworthy source. Although there is apparently unanimous agreement among bibliographers regarding the merit of Stedman's *History*,⁶ it is contended here

³ William Foran, “John Marshall as a Historian,” *American Historical Review*, XLIII (Oct., 1937), 51–64.

⁴ W. J. Bell, Jr., “Thomas Anburey's ‘Travels Through America’: A Note On Eighteenth-Century Plagiarism,” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXXVII (1943), 23–36.

⁵ *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American War* (2 vols., London, 1794).

⁶ There seems to be no dissenting voice among bibliographers as to the quality of Stedman's *History*. Joseph Sabin refers to it as “the best contemporary account of the revolution written from the British side.” *Dictionary of Books Relating to America* (29 vols., New York, 1868–1936), XXIII, 313. Obadiah Rich has high praise for Stedman's method and scholarship: “Mr. Stedman has entitled himself to considerable praise; his language is correct and animated and he has exemplified much diligence in collecting and much judgment in arranging, the materials which compose this interesting portion of history.” *Bibliotheca Americana Nova* (8 vols., London, 1832), I, 385. Justin Winsor maintains that Stedman's publication is the “only other important History of the American War from the British side [the other being the now discredited work of William Gordon].” *Narrative And Critical History of America* (8 vols., Boston, 1887), VI, 518. The *Bibliography of British History* states that Stedman's account is “the most reliable contemporary history [of the Revolution].” Stanley Pargellis and D. J. Medley, eds., *Bibliography of British History: The Eighteenth Century, 1714–1789* (2 vols., Oxford, 1951). Recent bibliographies do not question the reliability of Stedman's publication.

that the reputation of this work is not fully warranted by the facts and that its present high evaluation must be severely qualified.

But before proceeding to the critical evaluation of Stedman's *History*, a pertinent preliminary problem must be dealt with. Although Charles Stedman's name appears on the title page of the *History*, several bibliographical authorities attribute the real authorship to one William Thomson. William Lowndes states that the work "was compiled by W^m Thomson L. L. D. Marquis of Townsend."⁷ Probably on Lowndes' authority, this work was entered under the name of William Thomson in the *British Museum Catalogue*; Cushing as well as Halkett and Laing list William Thomson as the author.⁸ Justin Winsor does not attribute the authorship of the *History* to Thomson but implies that Stedman may not have been the author: "Whoever the author of the text may have been, the writer of many of the notes in the part devoted to the war in the South was undoubtedly an onlooker."⁹

Whatever has been said to the contrary, there are several sound reasons for believing that Charles Stedman was the author:¹⁰ (1) Stedman's obituary in *The Gentleman's Magazine* indicates that Stedman was considered by his contemporaries to be the author of the *History*. (2) Sir Henry Clinton in his *Observations On Mr. Stedman's History Of The American War*¹¹ refers consistently to Stedman as the author. Clinton's position in the British Army and his personal interest in the *History* give his opinion added weight. (3) The text of the *History* states quite clearly that the author was a commissary under Cornwallis in the Southern theater of operations.¹² Such a fact is consistent with Stedman's military career as established by other sources. Since William Thomson was not a participant in the war, his authorship, if not entirely precluded, is at least highly inconsistent with internal evidence. (4) Evidence found in contemporary correspondence confirms Stedman's authorship. The following is an excerpt from a letter written by Ann Maria Clifton, an acquaintance of the Stedman family, to Elizabeth Ferguson:

⁷ *Bibliographer's Manual Of English Literature* (6 vols., London, 1890), V, 2504.

⁸ William Cushing, *Initials and Pseudonyms: A Dictionary Of Literary Disguises* (New York, 1885), First Series, 274; Samuel Halkett and John Laing, *Dictionary Of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature* (rev. ed., 7 vols., Edinburgh, 1926-34), III, 87. All three are cited in Sabin, *Dictionary*, XXIII, 314.

⁹ Winsor, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ Points 1 and 2 are presented by Sabin (*Dictionary*, XXIII, 314) as indications of Stedman's authorship. In addition, he mentions that the note on Stedman in the *Dictionary of National Biography* claims him as the author, while the sketch of William Thomson in the same publication makes no mention of the *History of the American War*. Sabin was inclined to accept Stedman as the author, although he withheld final judgment in the matter.

¹¹ (London, 1794).

¹² For an example of this internal evidence see Vol. II, 319.

With respect to Mr. Stedmans being the Author of the History you mention I am not certain, I have heard it ascribed to his Father, but I fancy he had not so much industry and the peculiar circumstances of the Son confin'd by Ill health, to a retired situation in the country, on a small pension, makes it very probable that he would turn his mind to a subject on which he was himself well inform'd, and on which he could procure the best information, both from his intimacy with the American refugees as well as his connection with the opposition in the British Government. But before I close this letter I will endeavour to learn from a gentleman who' I imagine is able to answer the question whether he is or not.

At the end of the letter is this postscript:

I am informed Mr. S_____ is the Author of the American History you mention.¹³

This body of evidence in support of Stedman's authorship, while not incontrovertible, is very substantial. In light of the absence of countervailing data it seems most reasonable to accept Charles Stedman as the author of the *History* in question.

Assuming that Stedman was the author, there is every reason to believe his account is valuable. As a commissary under Howe and later under Cornwallis, he was undoubtedly an eyewitness of many important events, and it is probable that he was familiar with the operation of the British command. If he had done no more than accurately record his own observations, his account would merit attention. If he had combined his own direct experience with judicious research into other basic sources, his *History* would have been doubly valuable—as a firsthand account and as sound historical workmanship. But it cannot be inferred that Stedman has fulfilled either of these two possibilities simply because he had the opportunity to do so. Indeed, an analysis of his work indicates that much of the praise given to him is undeserved. Although he has not been guilty of the wholesale plagiarism employed by several of his contemporaries, he has resorted to that practice to a sufficient degree to cast doubt upon the value of his entire work.

In pages 94 to 130 of the *History*, one encounters the first extensive evidence of the plagiarism that continues in varying degrees throughout Volume I. It comes as no surprise to find that the source copied is the familiar *Annual Register*. Stedman has consulted this publication for subject matter, factual content, and phraseology. To substantiate this indictment, the following illustrations of plagiarism are presented as typifying pages 94 to 130.¹⁴ In

¹³ The letter is dated Philadelphia, June 27, 1795. Quoted in Simon Gratz, "Some Material for a Biography of Mrs. Elizabeth Fergusson, née Græme," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXIX (1915), 320-21.

¹⁴ For other samples see: *A.R.*, XVIII, 7: Stedman, I, 96; *A.R.*, XVIII, 10: Stedman, I, 97; *A.R.*, XVIII, 18: Stedman, I, 100; *A.R.*, XVIII, 22: Stedman, I, 109; *A.R.*, XVIII, 124: Stedman, I, 113; *A.R.*, XVIII, 134: Stedman, I, 126.

the following parallelisms, and in those subsequently referred to, the author has in no way acknowledged his indebtedness to the *Annual Register*.¹⁵

Annual Register, XVIII, 6:

They therefore recommended to the committee of correspondence, to communicate with the several committees of the other provinces, on the expediency of appointing deputies from the different colonies, to meet annually in General Congress, and to deliberate on those general measures, which the united interests of America might, from time to time, render necessary.

Stedman, *History*, I, 94:

They therefore recommended to the committee of correspondence to propose to the committees of the other colonies, that an annual congress should be held for all the colonies, to deliberate on such general measures as the united interests of America might from time to time require.

Annual Register, XVIII, 122:

As soon as an account was received at Rhode Island, of the prohibition on the exportation of military stores from Great-Britain, the people seized upon and removed all the ordnance belonging to the crown in that province, which lay upon some batteries that defended one of the harbours, and amounted to above forty pieces of cannon of different sizes. A captain of a man of war, having waited upon the governor to inquire into the meaning of this procedure, was informed, with great frankness, that the people had seized the cannon to prevent their falling into the hands of the king's forces; and that they meant to make use of them to defend themselves against any power that should offer to molest them.

Stedman, *History*, I, 111:

As soon as the news of the proclamation reached Rhode Island, forty pieces of cannon of different sizes, belonging to the crown, which had been mounted on batteries for the defence of the harbour, were seized by the populace, and removed into the country. They did not hesitate to own that this was done to prevent the cannon from falling into the hands of the king's troops, and that they meant to use them against any power that should offer to molest them.

Annual Register, XVIII, 135:

It is said, that in this critical moment, General Clinton, who arrived from Boston during the engagement, by a happy manoeuvre rallied the troops almost instantaneously, and brought them again to the charge.

Stedman, *History*, I, 127:

At this juncture, general Clinton, who had arrived from Boston during the engagement, was most eminently serviceable in rallying the troops; and by a happy manoeuvre almost instantaneously brought them back to the charge.

Although plagiarism is prevalent in pages 94 to 130, there are a few brief instances in which the author has laid aside the *Register* and relied upon some other source.¹⁶ It is possible that such portions are based on firsthand

¹⁵ In fact, documentation of any sort is very infrequent (almost totally absent in Volume I). In no instance does Stedman cite the *Annual Register*.

¹⁶ Stedman's evaluations of the fighting at Lexington and Concord and at Bunker's Hill have not been taken from the *Register*.

observation and are thus of some consequence as source material. The value of these sections as sources, however, is contingent upon their being cleared of the taint of plagiarism from sources other than the *Annual Register*.

From the standpoint of analysis, pages 130 to 248 constitute a unique unit. In this section, Stedman has abandoned the technique of wholesale plagiarism, at least from the *Register*. He did not discard it as an aid, however, but put it to different use. The parallel sequence of topics in the *Annual Register* and in Stedman's account strongly suggests that the structural frame of the latter stems from the former. The degree of topical sequence is too striking to be fortuitous. A comparison of the two accounts reveals the following identical series of topics:¹⁷ evacuation of Boston, siege of Quebec, attack on Charleston, Declaration of Independence, arrival of the British fleet at Halifax, Howe brothers peace commission of 1776, Battle of Long Island, Battle of White Plains, and the British attack on Rhode Island.

No final verdict can be passed regarding the origin of many of the passages in this section. Stedman has occasionally reverted to outright copying from the *Register*,¹⁸ but the evidence of such direct copying is not extensive enough to warrant a dogmatic judgment on the entire section. On the other hand, the several occurrences of plagiarism and the structural parallelisms indicate that the *Register* was close at hand.

Beginning on page 248, Stedman has again copied extensively from the *Annual Register*. The remainder of Volume I, with the exception of the last two chapters, is characterized by consistent and overt plagiarism, as illustrated by the following examples:¹⁹

Annual Register, XX, 21:

We have formerly had occasion to shew, the bad success which invariably attended the repeated attempts that had been made, of calling off the attention and force of the southern colonies from the support of the general alliance to their own immediate defence, by involving them effectually in civil war and domestic contention, either through the means of the well affected in general, the Regulators and Highland emigrants in the Carolinas, or of the Negroes in Virginia.

Stedman, *History*, I, 248:

It has been shewn how unsuccessful every attempt had hitherto proved to detach the southern colonies from the support of the common cause to their own im-

¹⁷ Beginning at the following points: *A.R.*, XIX, 147: Stedman, I, 166.

¹⁸ *A.R.*, XIX, 173: Stedman, I, 200; *A.R.*, XX, 19: Stedman, I, 238; *A.R.*, XX, 20: Stedman, I, 239.

¹⁹ See also: *A.R.*, XX, 26: Stedman, I, 258; *A.R.*, XX, 28: Stedman, I, 260; *A.R.*, XX, 44: Stedman, I, 265; *A.R.*, XX, 48: Stedman, I, 266; *A.R.*, XX, 115: Stedman, I, 276; *A.R.*, XX, 118: Stedman, I, 282; *A.R.*, XX, 135: Stedman, I, 295; *A.R.*, XX, 137: Stedman, I, 302; *A.R.*, XX, 147: Stedman, I, 322; *A.R.*, XX, 154: Stedman, I, 327; *A.R.*, XX, 168: Stedman, I, 340; *A.R.*, XX, 171: Stedman, I, 343. The plagiarized portion covers pages 248 to 343.

mediate defence, by involving them in civil war through the means of the Regulators and Highland emigrants in the Carolinas, or of the negroes in Virginia.

Annual Register, XX, 2:

To add to these impediments, the communication between the Lakes Champlain and George, did not admit the passage of those vessels of force, which, after being successful on the one, might be equally wanted on the other. And if all those difficulties were surmounted, and Lake George passed, there still remained a long and dangerous march through intricate forests, extensive morasses, and an uncleared country, still in a state of nature, before they could reach Albany, which was the first post to the southward that could afford them rest and accomodation.

Stedman, *History*, I, 253:

In addition to these impediments, the communications between Lakes George and Champlain would not admit the passage of those vessels of force, which, after being successful on one lake, might be wanted on the other. Should, however, all these difficulties be overcome, then the army would still have to march through intricate forest, deep morasses, swamps, and a country still in a state of nature, before they could arrive at Albany, the first post southward.

It was the custom among historians of this period to preface each chapter in their works with a topical outline of the material in the chapter, and this practice obtains in both Stedman's *History* and the *Annual Register*. A comparison of the following chapter headings is most revealing:²⁰

Annual Register, XX, chapter III (heading), 42:

Debates upon a proclamation issued in America by the Commissioners. Motion for a revival of the American laws by Lord John Cavendish. Motion rejected by a great majority. Secession. Arguments urged for and against the propriety of a partial secession. 45,000 seamen voted. Debate on naval affairs. Supplies for the naval and the land service. Recess.

Stedman, *History*, I, chapter XII (heading), 264:

Proclamation issued by Lord and General Howe—Debates upon it—The American Laws proposed to be revised by Lord John Cavendish—This Motion rejected—The Propriety of a partial Secession considered—Seamen voted—Naval Affairs—Supplies for the Military and Naval Service—Recess of Parliament.—1776.

As might be suspected, the subject matter, as well as the headings of these chapters, has been taken from the *Register* (the abridgment is extreme but the plagiarism is obvious).

What by way of summary can be said of Volume I of the *History of the American War*? Total condemnation has been ruled out by the existence of

²⁰ The chapter headings in the following chapters are also similar: *A.R.*, XX, chap. iv, 53; Stedman, I, chap. xiii, 269; *A.R.*, XX, chap. vii, 113; Stedman, I, chap. xiv, 276; *A.R.*, XX, chap. viii, 141; Stedman, I, chap. xvi, 318; *A.R.*, XX, chap. ix, 155; Stedman, I, chap. xvii, 329.

many pages which have not been traced to the *Annual Register* or to any other of the secondary accounts investigated. On the other hand, evidence of plagiarism in this volume has been extensive and striking. The author's use of the *Register* has varied from outright copying to subtle and well-disguised paraphrase and abridgment. Pages 94 to 130 are shot through with plagiarism; the same is true of pages 248 to 343. The remaining pages, while apparently free from wholesale copying, contain traces of that practice and, in addition, show remarkable similarity to the *Register* in the matter of organization. The prevalence of plagiarism in its various manifestations makes the first volume of doubtful value as an independent source of the Revolution.

A textual comparison of Stedman's second volume and the *Annual Register* does not reveal the consistent and flagrant copying found in Volume I, but sporadic plagiarism exists to indicate that the *Register* was not forgotten.²¹ Although the evidence of copying from the *Register* is insufficient to warrant a definitive conclusion, it certainly constitutes grounds for questioning the reliability of Volume II, especially when the nature of the first volume is kept in mind.

If Stedman has not relied upon the *Annual Register* for any considerable portion of his second volume, which he has not, what, then, were his sources? This question cannot be definitely answered, but it is not unreasonable to suspect that other accounts were utilized. Such in fact is the case.

Stedman, in compiling his account of the Southern campaigns, has on several occasions copied, without acknowledgment, from the secondary history attributed to Colonel Banastre Tarleton.²² Several passages, dealing with such matters as troop movement, deployment, and defense tactics, in Stedman's second volume are nearly identical to those in Tarleton's *Campaigns*.

In considering these striking instances of parallelism, one is confronted with the possibility that their similarity is due to the fact that both authors have consulted the same source.²³ This possibility must be explored. Fortunately Tarleton not only cites the sources he has used but includes complete

²¹ Several examples can be found: *A.R.*, XXI, 218: Stedman, II, 11; *A.R.*, XXI, 222: Stedman, II, 19; *A.R.*, XXI, 232: Stedman, II, 28; *A.R.*, XXII, 3: Stedman, II, 41; *A.R.*, XXII, 31: Stedman, II, 69; *A.R.*, XXII, 59: Stedman, II, 76; *A.R.*, XXIII, 14: Stedman, II, 162; *A.R.*, XXII, 188: Stedman, II, 140; *A.R.*, XXIV, 68: Stedman, II, 340; *A.R.*, XXIV, 132: Stedman, II, 410.

²² *History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781, in the Southern Provinces of North America* (London, 1787). From the dates of the two publications, it is patent that Tarleton's account could not have been taken from Stedman's. Incidentally, Robert D. Bass, in *The Green Dragoon: The Lives of Banastre Tarleton and Mary Robinson* (New York, 1957), establishes that Mrs. Robinson wrote the *Campaigns* with Tarleton.

²³ It should be noted that the nearly exact identity of the passages in Stedman and Tarleton's histories precludes the possibility that each used different sources.

copies of them in the notes at the end of each chapter. A comparison of Tarleton's account, Stedman's account, and the original source thus indicates whether Stedman relied upon the primary source or upon Tarleton's secondary work. The passages in the two histories that deal with the Articles of Capitulation after the British victory at Charleston reveal almost word-for-word similarity, as the following extracts show:

Tarleton, *Campaigns*, 22:

By the articles of capitulation the garrison were allowed some of the honours of war; they were to march out of the town, at an hour appointed for that purpose, to the ground between the works of the place and the canal, where they were to deposit their arms; but the drums were not to beat a British march, or the colours to be uncased: The continental troops and seamen were to keep their baggage, and to remain prisoners of war until they were exchanged: The militia were to be permitted to return to their respective homes, as prisoners on parole; and while they adhered to their parole, were not to be molested by the British troops in person or property:

Stedman, *History*, II, 185:

By the articles of capitulation the garrison were allowed some of the honours of war: They were to march out and deposit their arms between the canal and the works of the place; but the drums were not to beat a British march, nor the colours to be uncased: The continental troops and seamen, keeping their baggage, were to remain prisoners of war until exchanged: The militia were to be permitted to return to their respective homes as prisoners on parole; and, while they kept their parole, were not to be molested in their property by the British troops:

According to Tarleton's footnote his account is based on the complete document of the Articles of Capitulation, the text of which is included in his notes to chapter 1. It is apparent that the passage in both secondary histories is a summary form of the original list of the Articles of Capitulation. Tarleton follows this order in regard to the enumerated articles of the original: VII, III, IV, IX, VI, XII. He omits the remaining articles entirely and, in addition, has incorporated minor alterations in the word order and punctuation. Obviously, Tarleton's summary of the articles is unique and does not adhere to a logical pattern.

A comparison of Stedman's and Tarleton's accounts of the Articles of Capitulation reveals not only almost identical phraseology but, and most significantly, an identical arrangement in the order of the articles. It is difficult to believe that Stedman could have summarized the original document and arrived at an almost exact replica of Tarleton's unique abridgment. There is no reasonable alternative but to conclude that Stedman has copied from Tarleton's work. Similar examples are scattered throughout the second

volume.²⁴ These instances of plagiarism, although few in number, further elucidate Stedman's method of research, and the discovery of a second source from which he copied suggests that other secondary accounts may have been employed in a similar fashion.

A minor point, but one worthy of mention, is the fact that three battle maps which appear in Tarleton's *Campaigns* are reproduced in exact scale in Stedman's second volume.²⁵

Indications of plagiarism have been (as far as this examination has gone) relatively less conclusive in the second of Stedman's two volumes. Of the two, the second is more likely to be of value as a creditable source of information. Yet this more generous assessment of Volume II can be no more than conditional, for the evidence of plagiarism in it, if not condemnatory, is sufficient to raise serious questions about the sources and method used in compiling it (especially in light of the extensive copying in its companion volume).

In what respects must the present status of Stedman's *History of the American War* be revised to accommodate the findings of this examination? There appears to be ample justification for challenging the present reputation of this work as the "outstanding contemporary history" of the war—a distinction which falls by default upon the *Annual Register*. Although the evidence of plagiarism is sufficient to cast a shadow of doubt on the whole work, it will not support the assertion that the entire publication was plagiarized. Any such conclusion is precluded by the existence of many portions (primarily in Volume II) in which no traces of plagiarism have been found. A possibility exists that such portions were derived from the author's personal experience, or from a judicious use of original sources; if such is the case, these parts would be of merit. For purposes of research, however, the distinction between the "good" and "bad" sections has all too little practical significance. Separating the two would be a meticulous and lengthy operation—perhaps an impossible one. One thing is certain: the burden of establishing the validity of material from Stedman's *History* is a prerequisite to the use of that material as an authoritative source.

Stedman's *History* is the tenth contemporary account of the Revolution

²⁴ Tarleton, 24: Stedman, II, 190; Tarleton, 86: Stedman, II, 197; Tarleton, 93: Stedman, II, 200; Tarleton, 156: Stedman, II, 214; Tarleton, 161: Stedman, II, 219; Tarleton, 173: Stedman, II, 228; Tarleton, 271: Stedman, II, 337; Tarleton, 272: Stedman, II, 338.

²⁵ The maps are: (1) Plan of the Siege of Charlestown, Tarleton, 32: Stedman, II, 184; (2) Plan of the Battle fought near Camden, Tarleton, 108: Stedman, II, 210; (3) Plan of the Siege of Yorktown, Tarleton, 394: Stedman, II, 412.

to be derived either entirely or in part from the *Annual Register*.²⁶ Strangely enough, very little is known about the authorship, sources, and methodology of those portions of the *Register* devoted to the American War. Certainly a closer examination of this publication would be in order.

Lincoln, Nebraska

²⁶In fact, the total number is eleven. The eleventh work is John Andrews' *History of the War with America, France, Spain and Holland: commencing in 1775 and ending in 1783* (4 vols., London, 1785-86). Although a rather obscure work it had retained, along with Stedman's *History*, a reputation for honesty and impartiality. Actually Andrews' *History* is probably the most flagrantly plagiarized of the entire list. With the possible exception of fifty pages the entire four volumes have been lifted without documentation from the *Annual Register*. For substantiation of this statement see R. K. Newmyer, "A Critical Examination of Two Contemporary Histories of the American Revolution," unpublished master's thesis, dated 1956, in library of the University of Nebraska.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General

STYLE AND CIVILIZATION. By *A. L. Kroeber*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1957. Pp. 182. \$3.00.)

IN this small book Professor Kroeber discusses the ideas of Danilevsky, Spengler, Toynbee, Sorokin, and some others, to each of whom may be given Sorokin's designation "reader of historical events." These men, with whom Kroeber associates himself, are engaged, as he sees them, in a laudable attempt to discern meaning in history beyond that which professional historians find. Says Kroeber, if professional historians do not pay attention to these ideas they "run some risk of finding themselves before long in an old fogey position."

The main ideas of these men, as indicated by Kroeber, are "civilization" or "culture" considered as a "whole," "cycle" understood as a movement in time of a "civilization" or a "culture" in a recognizable sequence of phases from a beginning to an end, and the "style" of a "civilization" or a "culture." The author discusses "style" as an integrating factor in a "civilization" or "culture," in terms of female dress (with statistical data), fine arts (which he regards with Nietzsche as the highest expression, indeed embodiment, of a "style"), science (which as Spengler he sees as having a distinctive mode in a particular "civilization" or "culture"), and biological structure. In fact, we can best understand what he means by "style" from the following: "I would suggest as the closest organic parallel to style in a culture the over-all quality of consistent form of well-characterized organisms, that quality of form, especially, which is basic to definitely characteristic functioning of the animal or plant; that which gives it typical powers or habitus or temperament or ethos." As examples, Kroeber mentions the over-all quality that characterizes a bulldog as contrasted with a greyhound: "This coherence is what organism shares with style in a culture." In this connection it may be mentioned that Kroeber goes to some length, not quite successfully, to acquit Spengler and Toynbee of the charge of using "biological metaphors," something which features much of the thinking about "civilizations," "cultures," and "cycles."

There is no space here to suggest Kroeber's approvals and disapprovals, different for each, and on the whole well taken, of the ideas of Danilevsky, Spengler, Toynbee, and Sorokin. Inasmuch as he, as are those upon whose ideas he is commenting, is interested in the comparison of "civilizations" and "cultures" as "systems" having a life in time, it does not seem out of place, however, to make

at least one comparison among them which he may have passed over, namely, each is a "world-saver," preaching doom in order to promote his own "style" of salvation. Danilevsky called upon Russia, after having defeated Europe in a war, to take command of world civilization, a task she was fitted for by religious and cultural sensitivity. Spengler's intention seems clear from the following sentence found in the introduction to the first German edition of *The Decline of the West* but omitted from subsequent editions: "I only have to add the wish that this book will not appear too inferior beside the military accomplishments of Germany." Since Toynbee sees "in history a vision of God's creation on the move from God its source towards God its goal," it seems pertinent to record that Toynbee's reply to the question "What is to be done in the present crisis of western civilization?" is "Return to Christian love." And Sorokin has founded the Harvard Research Center in Creative Altruism!

From one point of view the ideas of these "readers of historical events" may be understood as regurgitations, with some change of sauces, of ideas as old as Pythagoras and Plato. From another point of view, they may be seen to be loaded with emotion quite as are those of Gobineau and Marx. It is this reviewer's judgment that these "readers of historical events," like the vastly greater number of persons who may be called "littérateurs of crisis," may be best understood as evidence of the fact that deep changes are now under way in the life of mankind—call it "civilization" or "culture" as one will—rather than as meaningful interpreters of the changes, which almost without exception they depict as "collapse," "decay," or "doom" and not as the creative process of a new life for mankind. If one brings into the focus of one's view of history those great numbers of human beings dubbed by Spengler "vegetative men" or "fellaheen" and by Toynbee as "uncreative majorities," one may discover that at the very heart of this process is the release of the creativity of multitudes of individuals who in all previous "civilizations" or "cultures" were condemned to sterility. This reviewer certainly agrees with Kroeber's concluding statement: "The study of civilization can hardly become scientific and scholarly until it divests itself of emotional concern about crises, decay, collapse, extinction, and doom."

Yale University

RALPH E. TURNER

THE NATURE OF BIOGRAPHY. By *John A. Garraty*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1957. Pp. xi, 289, xii. \$5.00.)

EVERYONE seriously interested in biography, whether as reader, writer, or would-be writer, will find Professor Garraty's excursion into this largely unexplored realm unusually thought provoking. At first glance, this would seem to be another guide for the beginner or the graduate student undertaking a biographical thesis. There are chapters on "Choosing a Subject," "The Materials of Biography," "The Problem of Personality," and "The Writing of Biography," which,

the jacket proclaims, almost constitute "a 'how to do it yourself' manual for writing biography." Garraty is less dogmatic than this would indicate. Despite his qualifications as the writer of three biographies, he does not function as a master laying down firm rules. Rather, almost as a discussion leader, he shares with his readers the findings of his patient exploration into several areas about which most of those concerned with biography would like to know more. Because he is honest, his findings in the psychological realm are more tentative than conclusive, perhaps more negative than positive.

The origin of this book came when Garraty in 1952 systematically studied the techniques through which psychologists gauge human personality to determine which might be of value in analyzing that of a subject who was dead. Similarly he examined psychoanalysis as a biographical tool. His conclusions now constitute only one chapter of his study, "The Problem of Personality." In it, he reports on the theory that emotional instability leads to an increase in the number of adjectives in one's writing, which led David P. Boder to compute ratios between adjectives and verbs in the writings of Emerson and William James. There are other devices intended to determine tension or "value analysis" or "personal structure analysis" in personal documents. These seem to be of limited usefulness but are worth knowing about, and some biographers may wish to employ them. Garraty concludes that "content analysis can render valuable assistance to biographers. It can provide a means of *measuring* personality, a scientific check on intuitive, subjective judgments."

Although less challenging, there is much of interest in Garraty's remaining chapters on method, in which he takes up questions more familiar to students of historical method, like the use of quotations.

The first half of the book, which was written last, is a succinct and useful survey of biography from the inscriptions in the tombs of Egyptian kings to the writings of Catherine Drinker Bowen. At its conclusion, Garraty quotes Frederick B. Tolles on the use of the new techniques. The modern biographers, says Tolles, have developed "a new conception of biography, combining the research and scholarly integrity" of the most careful scholars "with the imaginative, artistic qualities and readability" of the popularizers. There have been marked changes in biographical writing but also much that has remained constant through the centuries. Garraty points to the common ties that link Plutarch's sketches with the *New Yorker* profiles.

Harvard University

FRANK FREIDEL

A HISTORY OF LUMINESCENCE FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES UNTIL 1900. By E. Newton Harvey. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume 44]. (Philadelphia: the Society. 1957. Pp. xxiv, 692. \$6.00.)

THE term "luminescence" (in the German form, *luminescenz*) is of recent

origin, having been introduced in 1888 by the German physicist and historian Eilhardt Wiedemann. It is used to denote the production of light in conditions other than the mere rise of temperature and thus refers to all sorts of "cold light" as contrasted to such "hot light" as a fiery flame or an incandescent electric light. Although named only seventy years ago, the type of phenomenon has been observed and described from classical antiquity—while the "burning sea," the light of fireflies, and the luminescence of decaying tree trunks and dead fish must have been observed even earlier by prehistoric men.

Professor Harvey has long been known as a leader in the study of luminescence, particularly that caused by living microorganisms such as bacteria and fungi. Now retired from the Henry Fairfield Osborn Professorship of Biology at Princeton, he is still active in advancing knowledge of his chosen subject—by investigating its history and cultural contacts with the same intensity with which he formerly performed experiments and made observations in the field and laboratory. In this history he has chosen to allow each figure of the past to speak in his own words, insofar as possible, so as to produce a kind of "source book." In this way, he hoped, the reader would gain a sound idea of "contemporary beliefs . . . not only regarding luminescence, but also regarding fire, heat, and light in general." Thus, with Harvey as our guide, we may wander through the centuries, sampling the views of men of all cultures on topics like the phosphorescence of the sea, the light of aurorae, and the light given off when crystals are fractured.

Harvey writes with the intensity of a man who has devoted his life to a single subject and who sees all of human thought in relation to it. Yet he does not present a narrow specialist's view, probably because luminescence embraces such varied topics as microbiology, zoology, botany, oceanography, chemistry, physics, and meteorology. His book provides a superb example of the way in which the viewpoint of a specialist in science may, with the aid of the history of science, illuminate the whole area of knowledge.

The general reader will be most interested in Part I, "Luminescence through the Centuries," comprising about one third of the whole. The other two parts trace the history, chiefly in the last three hundred years, of the luminescence of nonliving material and of living organisms. The account is reasonably complete. It is arranged in such a manner that the reader interested in a single topic can readily find the information he desires without having to search through the whole book. If there is any criticism to be made, it is merely that the author has withdrawn himself a little too much. One might well have wished that the "survey" or "summary" at the end of the several chapters had been expanded so as to include the author's general observations on the relation of this topic at some time to the whole state and development of science, or of the separate sciences. But even if at times the presentation may seem to be as cold as the kind of light under consideration, there can be no question but that any historian or scientist who may have a problem concerning views on luminescence (or anything related

to it), at any time and at any place, will be grateful to Harvey for having furnished the answer.

Harvard University

I. BERNARD COHEN

Ancient and Medieval History

ORDER AND HISTORY. Volume II, THE WORLD OF THE POLIS; Volume III, PLATO AND ARISTOTLE. By *Eric Voegelin*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1957. Pp. xviii, 389; xvii, 383. \$6.00; \$6.00.)

Dr. Voegelin began his distinguished career in Vienna and is now Boyd Professor of Government at Louisiana State University. His monumental work, *Order and History*, "is a philosophical inquiry concerning the principal types of order of human existence in society and history as well as the corresponding symbolic forms." The first volume, *Israel and Revelation*, has been widely acclaimed. The jacket quotes the *Yale Review* as calling it "the most important historical work of our century" and also these words of Crane Brinton: "This whole work seems to me clearly to take rank with the work of Toynbee, Spengler, Sorokin, Collingwood." It is on that high plane that we approach the present volumes.

The oldest civilizational societies, says Voegelin, were the empires of the ancient Near East in the form of the cosmological myth. "And from this oldest stratum of order emerged, through the Mosaic and Sinaitic revelations, the Chosen People with its historical form in the present under God. . . . In the Aegean area emerged, from the stratum of order in cosmological form, the Hellenic polis with the symbolic form of philosophy." Volume II, *The World of the Polis*, accordingly surveys Greece from the days of Crete and Mycenae to the fall of Athens at the end of the fifth century B.C. The next volume deals in detail with the two great philosophers of the following century, Plato and Aristotle.

Voegelin has given us a great intellectual work—limited in scope, but an extraordinary and solid success—though not, I fear, that larger and more ambitious synthesis, the formulation of which it is the task of "the whole subsequent study to explore": "the relationship which actually exists between the concrete poleis in nonphilosophical form and the philosophical form without a concrete society." Each volume does indeed stand by itself, but together they do not make, in my opinion, a full and integrated "unit of study." Doubtless this is owing to Voegelin's choice of topic and emphasis. After all, the fourth century is bigger than Plato and Aristotle; moreover, Volume II consists of only 373 pages of text, and yet it deals with more than a millennium of history.

To begin with, the message of art and architecture is rigorously excluded. Next, the treatment of the strictly historical experience of the Greeks is narrow

and truncated—frequently disarming criticism—and the interpretation is often highly debatable. “The individual,” says Voegelin, “never gained the personal status in his political unit which, under the influence of the Christian idea of man, characterized the political formations of Western civilization; it always remained in a status of mediation through the fictitious tribal and narrower blood-relationships within the polis. The example of Athens will illustrate the problem.” The point is that the democratic reform of Cleisthenes shows “the strength of the gentilitian sentiment, as well as the resistance to any idea that would give the individual a personal status within the larger political community.” As one example of many, especially in the days after Pericles, what meaningful gentilitian sentiment can be discovered in Thucydides’ account of the debate and subsequent “show of hands” on Mytilene?

Then, too, there is the discussion of the ancient historians themselves. Herodotus, I think, is superbly done; not so Thucydides. “That Thucydides used the Hippocratic method as a model is reasonably certain.” Much is made of this idea, which was developed by Cochrane three decades ago. But Voegelin has missed the qualification suggested by Finley in 1942 to the effect that the standards of accuracy of the medical writers account only in part for Thucydides’ careful observation, that the influence “was only part of a more general contemporary influence—what has been called the tendency to the specific, existing side by side with the more peculiarly Greek tendency to the typical.”

I have space only to mention a style that sometimes is unnecessarily difficult and an occasional tendency to quibble: “throughout the first half of the fourth century, at least, nobody knew that there had been a great Peloponnesian War” (just a series of diplomatic and military actions, which counted the Melian expedition as minor and the Sicilian not at all, it not being against Peloponnesians). And I think the brutality of the Athenians before Pericles’ day should be emphasized.

The true strength of these volumes, and it is a very great and remarkable strength, lies in the penetrating and significant analysis of the ancient Greek writers. Over fifty authors are mentioned in Volume II. Stimulating observations such as this abound: “The struggle between the Ways of Truth is the fundamental issue of Western intellectual history from the blending of Hellenism and Christianity to the present. And Parmenides is the thinker who has created the ‘type’ for this world-historic struggle through his unshakable establishment of the Way of the Logos.” The long treatment of the sophists is also particularly rewarding. The analytical table of contents in Volume III occupies more than four pages of fine print, outlining the comprehensive presentation of Plato, Aristotle, and their works. It is a many sided, learned, and original interpretation, but the strands are numerous, sometimes uncertain, and need to be tied together. I think it a pity that each volume stops abruptly.

The concluding three volumes, which will end with the contemporary con-

flict of civilizations, are promised for this year and next. They are awaited eagerly and gratefully.

Brown University

C. A. ROBINSON, JR.

PYRRHOS. By *Pierre Lévêque*. [Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Fascicule 185.] (Paris: E. de Boccard, Éditeur. 1957. Pp. 735.)

THIS monograph, written as a thesis under Professor André Aymard, is a conscientious attempt to reexamine one of the most colorful and controversial personalities in classical ancient history. Although there remain problems connected with Pyrrhus' reign which cannot as yet be regarded as having found definitive solution, it is the judgment of this reviewer that M. Lévêque has provided a clear presentation of the Molossian's career and a fair and judicious estimate of his personality and policy. In fact, it is accurate to call this work a rehabilitation, for, as a result of the author's studies, it seems evident that the traditional view of Pyrrhus, that of the brilliant soldier and incompetent politician, can no longer be maintained. It appears rather that Pyrrhus' political decisions were, at the time they were made and in the context of the existing situation, thoroughly understandable. Even his all but universally criticized intervention in the Peloponnesus in 272 B.C. was soundly motivated, for the real sources of Antigonus Gonatas' power were his fleet and the great bases in Greece—Demetrias, Chalcis, Piraeus, and Corinth—which supported it. Pyrrhus in fact apprehended the real nature of the problem confronting him and took the most direct measures for its solution. One must grant that the king was indeed ambitious, but there is no evidence that he was politically inept.

There seem to be two chief reasons for the failure of one of the greatest commanders of antiquity to achieve abiding success. First, the limited resources of the Epirotic federation did not really permit the Molossian kings effectively and consistently to play the role of a major power. In Italy, as in Sicily later, Pyrrhus was in the last analysis utterly dependent on the capacity and morale of his Greek allies. One might speculate on the fate of Alexander the Great had the Macedonian been equally dependent upon the Greek cities of Asia Minor!

One reservation as regards this otherwise admirable study must be mentioned. The author has chosen to recount, and in large measure to reinterpret, one of the most fascinating stories in ancient history. It is therefore greatly to be regretted that the narrative is constantly interrupted by digressions and specialized investigations that surely should have been relegated to appendixes at the end of the text proper. Three useful maps and four good plates conclude the monograph, which is to be regarded as a real addition to our knowledge of Hellenistic and Roman history.

University of Wisconsin

CHARLES EDSON

ORIGINS OF THE MEDIEVAL WORLD. By *William Carroll Bark*. [Stanford Studies in History, Economics, and Political Science, Number XIV.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1958. Pp. ix, 162. \$3.75.)

For decades past, the historiography of late antiquity and of the early Middle Ages has obviously been moving toward sweeping new interpretations, but just what these might be has not been clear. Rostovtzeff and others underscored the social and economic failures of the "Roman experiment." Writers like Christopher Dawson showed that most of the basic forms of modern European—and therefore American—action, emotion, and thought emerged after the collapse of the Roman West and are clearly identifiable by the eleventh century. Yet the early Middle Ages have been darkened by the shadow of Rome's great name; they have continued to be patterned somberly in the tradition of Gibbon's "triumph of Barbarism and Religion."

Professor Bark is a man with a thesis, and in an age when timidity in generalization is too often equated with academic soundness, it is a joy to read a scholar whose footnotes (and they are extensive) do not qualify his text into meaninglessness. Without romanticizing the early Middle Ages, or glozing their misery, decay, and confusion, he contends that they nevertheless "were a time of innovation and discovery, and that the regression of civilization in the West from the Roman level was a fortunate occurrence." "We have grossly misinterpreted the creative character of what was taking place in late Roman and early medieval times. . . . Degradation, yes; but the end result over a very long period of time was not degradation." He admits that "such an attempt to see good in conditions of poverty, disorder and cultural retrogression runs counter to the conventional approach in historical interpretation." In essence he inverts Gibbon; the salutary chaos of the barbarians was fertilized by the egalitarian ethos of Christianity (and Bark is not an orthodox churchman) to produce at last a new medieval cosmos that was "the *preparation* for eventual freedom and individualism and dignity" beyond anything which antiquity could envisage save for a tiny elite.

Much of this book can be read with profit and excitement by intelligent undergraduates. The professional historian will find broad questions to ponder. Why was it that Byzantium, Islam, and the West, all resting on a common Greco-Roman foundation, developed so differently? "A thousand years of Byzantium produced extinction; a thousand years of medieval effort produced the Renaissance, the modern state, and ultimately the free world." "The ideas of Christianity, which had been introduced in the East as well as in the West, were by themselves not enough." In the West, it would seem, repeated invasion and political failure prevented crystallization: "Constant change proved to be the enemy of closed-mindedness and the unwitting friend of liberty." One fundamental part of the Western mutation was a revolution in agricultural technology and organization: "It was partly because medieval peasants were so different from peasants in

antiquity that the medieval towns they created were . . . shrewd, tough and aggressive in extending their liberties." This is a book that will anger some and delight many, but it cannot be ignored.

University of California, Los Angeles

LYNN WHITE, JR.

THE PURSUIT OF THE MILLENNIUM. By *Norman Cohn*. (Fairlawn, N. J.: Essential Books, Inc. 1957. Pp. xvi, 476. \$9.00.)

ONE of the strange, and often little understood, phenomena of the Middle Ages is the succession of elusive revolutionary movements which found their social dynamic in the fervor of a warmly held eschatology. Their expectation of the near coming of the millennium led these groups to various types of anarchic behavior, with resulting suppression by the agencies of established society. Professor Cohn's volume tells the story of these movements from the eleventh through the sixteenth centuries and does so with careful reporting and copious documentation. Inasmuch as it is the first comprehensive study of this subject, it will be a welcome contribution to the literature of social and religious history.

The account encompasses, roughly in chronological order, several types of these radical groups. A first pattern is found in those movements which not only drew literally upon the apocalyptic of the Biblical materials in their portrayal of the coming of a heavenly Saviour, but likewise combined this with the further apocalyptic of the early medieval Sibylline Oracles, in which eschatological significance is also given to the figure of the emperor as a messianic king. Thus groups of "the poor," often among the Crusaders, projected this latter image variously upon Charlemagne (presumably resurrected), King Tafur, Godfrey of Bouillon, Louis VII, and Frederick II, to say nothing of many lesser and willing candidates. They also took appropriate steps for the hastening of the end of the age and the establishment of this messianic rule. Such steps generally included, of course, the forceful repression of evil, which was variously identified with the rich, the Saracens, the Jews, or the clergy, with special attention sometimes given to the papacy itself as the manifestation of the Antichrist. These groups sought the millennium by the slaughter of "God's enemies," and their path was strewn with massacre and abortive revolution. A second pattern is in the flagellant movement, an "elite of self-immolating redeemers." Here the ritual of self-flagellation became a basis for usurping the role of the clergy as spiritual leaders and thus a ground for further anticlerical revolution. A third pattern is found in the movement of the "Free Spirit," an "elite of amoral supermen." The anarchism present here is that of a presumed perfectionism that cannot sin and thus allows liberty to turn to license. A final pattern is seen in the egalitarian movements, such as those of the Taborites in Bohemia and the radical Anabaptists in Münster, where the pursuit of the millennium led to bloody attempts to establish the social equalities to be enjoyed in the "New Age."

In addition to his description of these medieval movements, Cohn offers the theory that their origin is to be found in a kind of group paranoia, born in the midst of social disorientation and nurtured on a phantasy portraying the consummation of history as favorable for the "elect" after they do battle with the present hosts of evil. It is also his conviction that this basic pattern, in a pseudoscientific rather than a theological language, lies behind the political totalitarian movements we have known in the twentieth century.

Pacific School of Religion

JOHN VON ROHR

LA THÉOCRATIE: L'ÉGLISE ET LE POUVOIR AU MOYEN ÂGE. By Marcel Pacaut. [Collection Historique.] (Paris: Aubier, Éditions Montaigne. 1957. Pp. 302. 960 fr.)

THIS able and perceptive study of the evolution of theocratic theories in the medieval world covers much familiar ground yet manages to throw new light on several of the events and personalities concerned. Medieval theocracy, the author insists, though based on scriptural and theological ideas, took its actual forms progressively in response to the political, economic, social, and intellectual forces encountered by the Church. He traces the development of theocracy from 800 to the early fourteenth century, stressing the modest beginnings in the ninth and tenth centuries, the accelerated growth in the time of Gregory VII (a realistic response to the preoccupations, mentality, and social organization of that period), the "hesitations" of the twelfth century (based upon a more profound study both of tradition and of the writings of the Fathers), and the high point of theocracy in the thirteenth century (due partly to more vigorous secular forces opposing the Church and partly to the personality of Innocent III). Gregory IX, less prudent than Innocent III, pushed the concept of theocracy much further and even used the *translatio imperii* to explain his political policies in Italy. The events of the pontificate of Boniface VIII, unfortunate from the viewpoint of theocratic principles, are presented objectively. The subsequent virtual triumph of the state is clearly recognized. There is a brief epilogue that indicates the history of theocratic ideas in the western European world to the present, that is, to their virtual renunciation officially by Leo XIII.

The reviewer finds this account remarkably lucid and well informed. The author has new things to say about Ambrose, Gregory I, Gregory VII, St. Bernard, Innocent III, and Gregory IX, among others. He insists on the powerful influences emanating from the serious study of canon law in the twelfth century, particularly as a major explanation for the thought and action of both Alexander III and Innocent III. The book is relatively weak on matters French, especially in the earlier period, and actually weak on matters English throughout (was King John really "*un personnage médiocre*"?). An appendix, consisting of some sixty-two pages of contemporary material gathered from a great variety of sources and

presented in French translation, supports the text at many points. There is an excellent bibliography, very much up to date.

Smith College

SIDNEY R. PACKARD

FROM FIEF TO INDENTURE: THE TRANSITION FROM FEUDAL TO NON-FEUDAL CONTRACT IN WESTERN EUROPE. By *Bryce D. Lyon*. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LXVIII.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. xv, 331. \$8.00.)

STUDENTS of medieval institutions have long been aware that certain lords secured the homage and service of important vassals not by granting them lands or offices but by promising them annual payments of money. The best known examples of this type of fief come from the records of the French and English monarchies. John and Philip Augustus, Edward I and Philip the Fair, Edward III and Philip VI all attempted to secure the support of west German princes by granting them annual (and often hereditary) rents. But while the phenomenon is well enough known, it has usually been studied only as an aspect of medieval diplomacy or within the limits of a single country. We have lacked a study of the money-fief as an institution and a comparison of the ways in which it was used in England, France, Germany, and the Low Countries.

This gap has been brilliantly filled by the work of Dr. Lyon. His book is one of the most important studies of medieval institutions to appear in this country in recent years. He has shown that the money-fief, or *fief-rente* as he prefers to call it, was far more important than we have realized; there are literally hundreds of examples in every major European archive. He has further shown the significance of the *fief-rente* in the transition from a society based on status to a society based on money. It preserved the values of the feudal relationship but allowed wealthier lords to take advantage of their new money income. Only when feudal ties were no longer meaningful did the *fief-rente* disappear, to be replaced first by the indenture for military service and then by the paid standing army.

The author's conclusions may be challenged on a few points. I am not sure that some of his early examples of fiefs which included payments in kind (wine, grain, etc.) are properly included in the category of *fief-rente*. I feel fairly certain that in France the *fief-rente* was commuted into a grant of land more frequently than he believes, and I doubt whether the *fief-rente* was quite as useful in providing military service as he suggests. Lyon argues, quite rightly, that the *fief-rente* was most frequently used to obtain a promise of military service, though he does not prove that the promised service was always rendered, especially by the greater lords. On the other hand, he rejects the view that the purpose of granting money-fiefs to important princes was to obtain their diplomatic support. But in practice the *fief-rente* often secured nothing more than the benevolent neutrality of the recipient, and sometimes not even that. Philip the Fair received very little military

service in return for the thousands of pounds which he granted to the German princes; what he did gain was the collapse of the hostile coalition against him.

The author does not exaggerate his arguments, even on these controversial points. One of the great values of the book is that it contains enough evidence to enable the reader to form his own conclusions. Lyon has given us the definitive history of an important medieval institution.

Princeton University

JOSEPH R. STRAYER

LES DÉNOMBREMENTS DE FOYERS DANS LE COMTÉ DE HAINAUT
(XIV^e-XVI^e SIÈCLE). By *Maurice-A. Arnould*. (Brussels: Académie Royale
de Belgique, Commission Royale d'Histoire. 1956. Pp. xxiii, 771.)

ONE is surprised that this volume by M. Arnould on the census of households in the county of Hainaut between the fourteenth and mid-sixteenth century could have been achieved in even twenty years of painstaking research in the archives of Mons, Lille, and Brussels. A monumental project, dependent almost solely upon archival material, it is the kind of work that few American medievalists have the skill or inclination to undertake; it could only be written by a European scholar steeped in the history of his country and in all the techniques of the medievalist. This volume clearly illustrates why Belgian scholars have such pre-eminence in medieval history.

Arnould has edited all the pertinent texts bearing upon comital taxation from 1365 to 1574 and, from the vast documentation assembled, has written an introduction that is tantamount to being a history of taxation in medieval Hainaut. The chronological span was dictated by two considerations: the availability of the financial records and the form of taxation. During this period of two hundred years general and direct taxation took the form of lump sums granted to the sovereign. These *impôts de répartition* were paid by various financial circumscriptions of the county, each assessed according to the number of households in its towns and agrarian villages. Such a tax was granted for the first time in 1365 when the estates of Hainaut voted to the count, Albert of Bavaria, a general aid of 160,000 francs, which was to be borne by each household. Though this action was a fiscal innovation in the Low Countries, it seems to have stemmed from the French royal administration, which had been taking census of households for the purpose of tax assessment since the early fourteenth century. This was the preponderant form of taxation for the next two centuries, but it was discarded in the third quarter of the sixteenth century. At that time, through the efforts of Charles V and Philip II, the tax structure of all the Low Countries was changed; direct taxation came to be levied upon the principle of the quota or percentage whereby an individual had to pay in taxes a certain percentage of his annual income. Although over the years the percentages varied, taxes continued to be levied in this manner. So it was that the Habsburg rulers reintroduced into

Hainaut a principle of taxation that had prevailed there down to the middle of the fourteenth century and that governed feudal and general aids in England, France, Germany, and other Low Country states. The principle of the percentage, by concentrating the burden of taxation upon the privileged and the wealthy, was much more equitable and remunerative than the assessment system.

Arnould weaves into his discussion on taxation a number of significant developments in medieval institutions. He describes the central financial administration of Hainaut and also that of the dukes of Burgundy in their Low Country possessions; he outlines in detail the mechanics of local tax assessment and collection; and, of most interest perhaps, he admirably summarizes the relations between the estates of Hainaut and the counts. Here is told the story of how the estates secured their rights and privileges through negotiation over supply. An important by-product of the census of households is, as Arnould shows, an estimate of the population of Hainaut. Though wholly accurate figures are unobtainable, elaborate tables, charts, and maps graphically show the fluctuations and distribution of the population in the county.

In a work of such magnitude and merit it is perhaps unfair to ask for more, and yet I feel that this study could have been more useful to historians if the system of taxation in Hainaut had been compared at greater length with that in France, England, and the Low Countries as a whole. The few references to England, for example, are not particularly valuable because they are based upon antiquated studies and insufficient knowledge of English medieval taxation. But this objection is raised primarily to emphasize the marvelous opportunities now available to those interested in the comparative approach to medieval institutions of western Europe.

University of Illinois

BRYCE LYON

Modern European History

STUDIEN ZUR IDEE DER GEMEINSCHAFT BEI ERASMUS VON ROTTERDAM UND ZU IHRER STELLUNG IN DER ENTWICKLUNG DES HUMANISTISCHEN UNIVERSALISMUS. By *Hans Treinen*. (Saarlouis: N. Fontaine. 1955. Pp. 224. 840 fr.)

ERASMO E IL RINASCIMENTO. By *Siro Attilio Nulli*. (Turin: Giulio Einaudi. 1955. Pp. 460. L. 2,500.)

ONE cannot properly assess the value of these recent publications unless they are compared with A. Renaudet's *Érasme et l'Italie*. This book, published in 1954, was a synthesis both of a lifetime of humanistic studies by its author and of the findings and opinions of a generation of Erasmus students (cf. W. Kaegi's "Erasmica. Zu A. Renaudet, *Érasme et l'Italie*," *Schweizerische Zeitschr. f. Gesch.*, VII [1957], 345-52). Renaudet's appraisal of Erasmus' work is based on two

main views: by reconciling classical and Christian traditions, Erasmus is thought to have solved, for his own age, one of the basic problems of European culture, and in achieving this triumph he is regarded to have been the scion and continuator of the Italian Quattrocento. Comparatively little is left of the attempts of earlier scholars to interpret Erasmus' program of religious and ethical reform as a reaction to late medieval conditions, especially in the northern countries. Treinen and Nulli, in 1955, did not yet know *Érasme et l'Italie* but were familiar with its basic views from previous publications. They mean to prove the insufficiency of that approach, Treinen maintaining that too little attention had been paid to the reflection in Erasmus' social philosophy of the actual life of the late Middle Ages and Nulli emphasizing that the presumed reconciliation by Erasmus of culture and religion was never adequately achieved.

Along these lines, both authors raise some vital points. We may remain skeptical regarding Treinen's efforts to distinguish two humanistic schools, one carrying on Christian "universalism" from Dante, Petrarch, and Cusanus to Erasmus, and another tainted by the "nationalist" outlook, climaxed by Machiavelli. It is too evident that Dante's and Erasmus' ideas about the universal peace and the Empire have little in common with each other, that "nationalism" plays a decisive role in Petrarch's Latin Humanism, and that Machiavelli's outlook is something more complicated. But in the study of Erasmus, Treinen's dissertation reaches a notable result: in commenting upon Erasmus' ceaseless quarrels against external ritualism and uncritical dogmatism, he notes that the traits attacked in the *Moriae Encomium* and the *Colloquia Familiaria* are practically those which in Huizinga's well-known analysis are shown to be the characteristics of the "waning Middle Ages." In the light of this identification, Erasmus' lifework can indeed be historically better appraised as a reaction against the abuses and grievances of late medieval life, although we shall have to take into account that some of the apparent portraiture of life were perhaps willful exaggerations or caricatures by Erasmus the satirist.

In even stronger opposition to past scholarship stands S. A. Nulli's criticism of Erasmus' classical-religious synthesis. Any attempt at such a fusion, he feels, "falsifies the religion of the Gospels and the Greek-Roman mind alike, by spiritualizing the pagan world in a manner foreign to it, and imbuing the spirit of Christianity with a significance for secular and political affairs to which it is entirely alien." This is a resumption of the arguments of some past religious fundamentalists against Erasmus' and any program of a "Christian Humanism." These arguments are now used for the defense of the secular and rational character of Humanism, the best fruits of which are thought to be the Libertinage of the seventeenth century and the Enlightenment of Voltaire. Here, an older view of the Renaissance seems to have been called from its grave, but it fulfills the useful function of causing present-day opinions to go through a rigorous reexamination. After two chapters that probe into the true or presumed contradictions of Erasmus' "*pensiero*

religioso" and contrast them with the unbroken faith of Luther as well as Thomas More, two other chapters stress the secular character of the "*coscienza dell'Umanesimo*" from Petrarch and Boccaccio, and point out Erasmus' role in the consummation of humanistic historical and political thinking. Eventually, "the conflict between Greek-Roman thought and Christianity" is traced from Tertullian and Augustine to the sixteenth century. The whole, in spite of its one-sidedness and a good deal of unnecessary aggressiveness, is a welcome addition to the critical bookshelf on Erasmus.

Newberry Library

HANS BARON

A HISTORY OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT. Volume I. By *Hubert Jedin*.
Translated from the German by *Dom Ernest Graf*. (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons; distrib. by B. Herder Book Company, St. Louis, Mo. 1957. Pp. xi, 617. \$15.00.)

It is good to welcome this competent translation of Jedin's first volume, which originally appeared in 1949. The English edition is beautifully printed, the index is somewhat fuller than the original, a few errors are corrected, eight portraits are added, and the publishers have merited release from years of purgatory by placing the notes (one third of the book) at the bottom of the page instead of at the back of the book. Since the German edition somehow escaped notice in this journal, although widely reviewed elsewhere, it may be well to summarize the significance of this introductory volume to an intended four-volume history of the Council of Trent.

Jedin begins with the victory of the papacy over the Council of Basle, points up the survival of the conciliar theory, and traces the new uses made of the idea of a council and the new shapes given to it by secular monarchs, Protestant leaders, Catholic reformers, cardinals, and popes. He describes in considerable detail the generation of argument and diplomacy after Luther's appearance and closes with the moving scene on December 13, 1545, when the Council was finally opened at Trent, after a decade of abortive and frustrating attempts.

The hand that guides the reader through these diplomatic tangles, theological thickets, and canonical jungles is that of a master historian. The notes are evidence of how thoroughly Jedin has explored the sources, both printed and manuscript, in the Vatican archives and elsewhere. There is much detail, but the author never loses sight of his main goal. Every line of the story leads to Trent. In fact, the chief importance of the book is its demonstration that almost everything which happened at Trent had a long and significant history behind it. The dogmatic decrees owed much to a generation of Catholic controversialists who slowly put Protestant theology together and defined a Catholic alternative (this is one of the freshest parts of the book). The reform decrees had a history that led back not just to the *Consilium de emendanda ecclesia* of 1537 but to the pontificates of

Julius II and even Pius II. The political pressures and ecclesiastical tensions which swayed the Fathers at Trent originated decades earlier.

The word "Council" meant all things to all men in the generation after Luther's appearance. In particular there were four major conceptions of what was needed: a purely national German synod, a "free Christian Council" (that is, independent of papal control) in Germany, a "General Council" of the whole Church in some neutral spot summoned and guided at long range by the papacy, and a convention of bishops at Rome under the immediate presidency of the pope. The motives that drove men to espouse any one of these conceptions at any given moment might vary all the way from the sordid to the sublime. It is Jedin's genius that he disentangles as many of these motives as possible, isolates the pressures, and generalizes brilliantly on what the real possibilities were at any given point of time. He argues persuasively that a general council held in 1525 might have prevented the incipient schism. The tragedy was that when the Council actually met twenty years later, its purpose could only be to save and strengthen what was left of Catholic Europe, in full knowledge that the emperor intended shortly to resort to war against the Protestants.

The work "borrows its standard of values" and its dogmatic point of view from the Roman Catholic Church. This means that problems like justification, Biblical authority, and the papal primacy, which many historians outside the Roman tradition would argue received precise dogmatic definition only at the Council of Trent itself, are treated as having a clear right and wrong answer before 1545. But there is a cool and magisterial quality in Jedin's judgments of men and movements which never fails, particularly in the case of complicated characters like Aleander, Madruzzo, and Paul III. Contarini, Morone, Duke George of Saxony, and King Ferdinand come off very well, incidentally; Erasmus and Clement VII, very badly.

This is first-rate historical writing, worthy of a place of honor beside Janssen and Pastor.

Princeton University

E. HARRIS HARBISON

INTRODUCTION À LA DÉMOGRAPHIE HISTORIQUE DES VILLES D'EUROPE DU XIV^e AU XVIII^e SIÈCLE. Volume I, LES PROBLÈMES; Volume II, LES RÉSULTATS; Volume III, ANNEXES. By Roger Mols, S.J. [Université de Louvain Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Philologie, 4^e Série, Fascicule 1, 2, 3.] (Louvain: Éditions J. Duculot. 1954; 1955; 1956. Pp. xxx, 335; 557; lxix, 354. 1,100 fr. B. the set.)

HISTORICAL demography is an already established field of research. One of its great landmarks is Émile Levasseur's *La population française*, published in the late nineteenth century. The present study by Roger Mols will stand as a similar landmark in the twentieth century. Requiring ten years of preparation and based on several hundred works in six languages, these volumes synthesize the data

available in the secondary sources dealing with the urban populations of western Europe in the five centuries before the compilation of national statistics. And yet, as the title indicates, the work is only an "introduction" to the problem. No new data are presented.

Volume I analyzes the types of data available and their reliability, provides a classificatory system and a detailed methodology, and indicates the status of research in each of the countries covered (eastern Europe and Scandinavia are not included; the British Isles are). It is clear at the outset that the definition of *villes* is a major difficulty and that limiting the study to towns does not simplify the author's task as much as he had probably hoped it would.

Volume II brings together and evaluates the research on size of towns, population densities, natality, nuptiality, mortality, migration, and several related indexes. Although the use of these terms suggests more accuracy and reliability than the evidence allows, one must sample this material to see how well Mols keeps his perspective and how richly rewarding this material can be to the general historian. A disturbing factor, however, from the historian's point of view, is the lack of any chronological framework for a time span of five centuries. The reader is asked to deal *in vacuo* with data pertaining now to one century, now to another, and frequently to widely separated geographic areas. The historical setting is not provided. Perhaps this marks a difference between historical demography and demographic history. The latter I take to mean an interdisciplinary form of social history, written with a careful regard for the chronological and environmental setting of the population under study. One might expect to find here, for example, some detailed treatment of the demographic effect of the Thirty Years' War, but only four pages are devoted to it in the present work. Nevertheless, Mols's statement on this subject is a concise introduction to the problem. The polar extremes of interpretation are indicated; then the middle-ground position of Franz (*Der Dreissigjährige Krieg und das Deutsche Volk*) is presented as the most credible. The footnotes for this topic (as for many others) contain enough annotated bibliographical material for the reader to make a complete study of his own.

The formal bibliography in Volume III (which also contains tables, index of proper names, and—an awkward arrangement—footnotes too long to be included in Volumes I and II) is limited to basic works and works cited more than once in the text. A rough check indicates that almost twice as many works are cited in footnotes as are listed in the bibliography, which contains over one thousand entries.

In a work of this scope, intended as an introductory synthesis in an area where only particular studies have previously existed, one should not seek elaborate interpretations or daring hypotheses. But the social historian will find here much and valuable information—certainly more than just "an honest spade for the workman," which is the author's overly modest description of his achievement.

Monmouth College, New Jersey

WESLEY D. CAMP

THE NEW CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY. Volume VII, THE OLD REGIME, 1713-63. Edited by J. O. Lindsay. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1957. Pp. xx, 624. \$7.50.)

THOSE students of history who are willing to hold in abeyance the answer to the question whether the old *Cambridge Modern History* is worth putting into modern dress at least until more volumes have been published have this one comfort that the present volume is less massive, less dull, and less indigestible than its predecessor published almost fifty years ago. Not only has the shorter chronological span from 1713 to 1763 produced a more tractable period but, thanks to Mrs. J. O. Lindsay, more thoughtful planning has gone into the present volume, organized as it is by subjects, events, and countries. Unlike the old volume, all nineteen contributors to the present one are British historians, a fact that is symptomatic of the expanded interests and growing independence of British historical scholarship. A still more striking departure from its predecessor, however, are the seven subject chapters, embracing Europe as a unit and amounting to a third of the entire volume, on commerce and manufacture, religion, social structures, monarchy and administration, the Enlightenment, and the art of warfare. They may not add up to as radical a breach with the traditional historiographical pattern as was attempted by R. Mousnier and E. Labrousse in their recent *Le XVIII^e siècle*, but they add perceptibly to the unity and substance of the volume. There follow chapters on international relations and the two mid-century wars and seven chapters devoted to the principal countries of Europe. The volume concludes with an analysis of colonial issues in Latin and North America, the Caribbean and India, and with a final chapter on African and Asiatic trade. Even an inveterate critic of the *Cambridge Modern History* must admit that there is not a single significant theme of the period that does not receive serious, extended discussion.

It is, of course, a basic assumption of the *New Cambridge Modern History*, as it was of the old, that multiple authorship enables the editor to draw upon the *expertise* of recognized specialists in the expectation that the volume which emerges will gain in depth and scholarship what it may lose in logical coherence, compactness, and easy intelligibility. In fairness it should be said that this expectation has not been entirely disappointed. Three chapters above all stand out prominently for their close scholarship, firmness of interpretive grasp, and distinguished writing: W. R. Brock's chapter on England with its brilliant exposition of the Constitution and mid-century politics; Alfred Cobban's splendid chapter on the decline of the French monarchy; and D. B. Horn's superb and alert discussion of the Diplomatic Revolution, which may now be safely regarded as the most satisfactory account in any language. To these might suitably be added C. H. Wilson's admirable discussion of Anglo-French commercial rivalry and its role in politics and war, J. H. Parry's chapters on the colonies, and J. Gallagher's extremely useful chapter on the African slave trade.

Since it is perhaps unreasonable to expect the nineteen contributors to adhere to a uniform pattern or to be consistently alert to what their collaborators have to say, there are chapters that suffer from excessive compartmentalization or unnecessary repetition. Thus Brock's chapter on England, Cobban's on France, and W. H. Bruford's on Prussia provide a more incisive analysis of social structure than the chapter explicitly devoted to this subject. The War of the Austrian Succession figures in no fewer than three chapters, and while Mark A. Thomson in his succinct survey gives the terms of the peace of Dresden in 1745 correctly (p. 432), C. A. Macartney's chapter on the Habsburg dominions, two thirds of which is devoted to Hungary, states them incorrectly (p. 410). What Eric Robson has to say about eighteenth-century wars of limited liability is true enough, but it will not do to exaggerate conventionalized warfare in a century that produced bloody battles in abundance. In his account of the Seven Years' War, which follows conventional lines, Robson does not seem to be aware of the more recent literature on the rupture of the Anglo-Prussian alliance, notably the study by Mark Thomson's student, Z. E. Rashed, *The Peace of Paris, 1763* (Liverpool, 1951). Finally, the chapter on the visual arts and imaginative literature is written in that jejune manner which made the old *Cambridge Modern History* a byword for formal correctness but uninspired dullness.

Columbia University

WALTER L. DORN

A WORLD RESTORED: METTERNICH, CASTLEREAGH AND THE PROBLEMS OF PEACE, 1812-22. By *Henry A. Kissinger*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1957. Pp. xi, 354. \$6.00.)

THIS book is less a history of Europe's defeat of, and reconstruction after, Napoleon than an interpretation of that history in universal terms. The author recognizes that history does not repeat itself exactly, but he insists that the problems of different periods, the methods of dealing with them, and the motivation of the actors may be similar. Consequently, "generalization" may be "abstracted from the uniqueness of individual experience." He seldom makes explicit an analogy between the post-Napoleonic and post-Hitlerian periods, but the alert reader is continuously aware of an implicit analogy. The Russia of Tsar Alexander and that of Stalin were similar in manifesting "the indeterminacy of a [revolutionary] policy of absolute Moral claims." The France of Napoleon and the Germany of Hitler were similar in manifesting "the [revolutionary] claims of power, as the France of Talleyrand and the Germany of Adenauer were similar in repudiating revolution and supporting moderation, restoration and unity. The Britain of Castlereagh and the United States of Roosevelt, each in its time on the periphery of world politics with a tradition of isolation, were similar in marrying the conception of equilibrium to that of collective security, maintained by recog-

nition of the self-evident advantages of peace." The Austria of Metternich and the Britain of Churchill, each in its time conservative and in the center of world politics were alike in seeking stability in a world of nationalism (self-determination) and liberalism (human rights) through "equilibrium maintained by an agreement on a legitimizing principle."

Dr. Kissinger demonstrates his scholarship both by his critical bibliography and by his skill in digesting materials in a lucid text. He is familiar with the official sources, the memoirs, the biographies, and the histories. Like his great predecessor in the field, Sir Charles Webster, in his *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh* (London, 1925, 1931), he pays high tribute to the British foreign minister, but he is more impressed by the diplomatic skill and intelligence of Metternich. Though the latter's task—to maintain an absolute monarchy over a polyglot of peoples in an age in which "legitimacy" was changing from the principle of hereditary right to that of liberal, democratic nationalism—was in the long run impossible, he succeeded for a generation, always aware that time was against him. His "policy was diplomacy in its purest sense, a virtuoso performance of an essentially instrumental kind, whose very skill testified to its ultimate futility."

The central theme of the book, like that of Hans Morgenthau's *Politics among Nations* (New York, 1950), is the difference between policies of revolution (imperialism) seeking expansion, reform, or the realization of an idea and policies of conservatism (status quo) seeking tranquillity and stability. The latter depends on moderation, renunciation, respect for law, and continuous negotiation to maintain equilibrium, the former on power, personality, pugnacity, and propaganda. Kissinger also emphasizes the close relation of the state's foreign policy to its domestic constitution. The latter, resting on tradition or public opinion, is likely to obstruct a foreign policy seeking stability. Metternich's task of persuading his emperor and Castlereagh's of persuading his government and parliament were often more difficult than their tasks at the international conferences. Woodrow Wilson faced the same problem. This consideration leads the author to a discussion of the relative values of the methods of education and propaganda, of bureaucracy and administration, of diplomacy and politics, and of law and adjudication in the conduct of international relations. Though recognizing that the statesman must also be an educator, Kissinger finds a basic incompatibility between bureaucracy and statesmanship. He also notes that public opinion is more attracted by the prophet or conqueror than by the statesman of stability.

The book will be read with profit by both students and practitioners of international politics. It skillfully distills history to illumine the philosophy, the science, and the art of international relations. Many of the author's aphorisms deserve reflection. "The conditions of victory are commitment, the condition of stability is self-restraint" (p. 138). "It is not balance which inspires men but universality, not security but immortality" (p. 317). "Disputes over policy never concern a disagreement over the wisdom of safety but over its nature, nor about the desirability of

security but about the best means to accomplish it" (p. 325). "The effort to identify the legitimizing principle of the international order with a parochial version of justice must lead to a revolutionary situation" (p. 328).

University of Chicago

QUINCY WRIGHT

METTERNICH E LE RIFORME NELLO STATO PONTIFICIO: LA MISSIONE SEBREGONDI A ROMA (1832-1836). By *Narciso Nada*. [Biblioteca di Storia Italiana Recente, New Series, Volume III.] (Turin: Palazzo Carignano for Deputazione Subalpina di Storia Patria. 1957. Pp. xiii, 234. L. 2,600.)

ONE aspect of the neoconservatism of the twentieth century has been the rehabilitation of Metternich. In place of the unredeemed reactionary—as he seemed to the writers of the nineteenth century—he has become an enlightened conservative, hostile of course to liberalism but also to those who would have undone the work of the enlightened despots. The basis of this revision was provided by Von Srbik's *Metternich, der Staatsmann und der Mensch* (2 vols., Munich, 1925), the third and posthumous volume of which, *Quellenveröffentlichungen und Literatur. Eine Auswahlübersicht von 1925-1952* (Munich, 1954), surveys the recent literature. In America, in the new political atmosphere following World War II, the revisionist position has been represented by Peter Viereck, though Nada does not have occasion to mention his work.

A clear outline of Metternich's policy toward Italy as a whole is available in W. Maturi's article in the *Enciclopedia Italiana*, but the concrete application of general aims to the particular states of the peninsula has not until now been subjected (with exceptions noted by the author) to systematic investigation. For the papal states in particular, the critical studies of M. Petrocchi, *La restaurazione, il cardinale Consalvi e la riforma del 1816* (Florence, 1941) and *La restaurazione romana, 1815-1823* (Florence, 1943), needed to be extended to the pontificate of Gregory XVI. Demarco and Quazza had examined the social structure, but as for the springs of governmental action, Nada accuses all the historians of Gregory XVI of superficiality in their descriptions of his reforms and of sheer ignorance of the fact that these were the result of Austrian pressure.

The present work begins with a summary of the author's *Austria e la questione romana* (Turin, 1953), which covered the period from the July revolution to the end of the international conference in Rome in July, 1831. After the failure of the conference, Metternich urged that the Romagna be pacified by the timely announcement of reforms; it was the refusal of the papal government that led to reoccupation by Austrian forces and the Sebregondi mission. The body of the work, an analysis of the administrative reforms in the legations, the reform of Roman administration, finance, and the army, and the fall of Cardinal Bernetti's ministry, is based on the correspondence of Sebregondi and other Austrian officials which has been preserved in the Haus-Hof-und Staatsarchiv in Vienna.

The government of the papal states during the period of Sebreghondi's mission constituted perhaps the severest test of Metternich's policy and thus of the thesis of his modern-day advocates. The aims were autonomy for the Romagna, recognition of the sales of national property during the Napoleonic period, laicization and reform of the bureaucracy, and financial, judicial, and military reforms. Though the scale of the reforms suggested confirms the "enlightenment" of Metternich, the mission must be judged a failure when measured by the results actually achieved. The stubborn resistance to any reform by ruling circles in Rome and the careful documentation of the corruption that made reform so urgent enable the author to explode recent attempts to reverse the harsh judgment of the historians of the Risorgimento. His conclusion, on the contrary, is that their judgment was only too well founded and "if, on the one hand, it confirms that [Metternich's] policy was in fact not anchored to obtuse and reactionary conceptions, it shows, on the other, how weak and corroded were the bases on which his system rested, and how difficult, or rather hopeless was the task to which he had devoted himself."

Laurence College

GORDON GRIFFITHS

THE ORIGINS OF THE WAR OF 1914. Volume III, THE EPILOGUE OF THE CRISIS OF JULY 1914; THE DECLARATIONS OF WAR AND OF NEUTRALITY. By *Luigi Albertini*. Translated and edited by *Isabella M. Massey*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xiv, 772. \$11.20.)

THE author of this volume, the long-time editor of *Corriere della Sera*, died in 1941, and the original Italian version was published two years later. There is, alas, no preface or translator's note to Volume III, and one must turn to the translation of Volume I, published in 1952, to discover that Dr. Luciano Magrini coordinated and completed chapters I and II of this volume and that it lacks the final concluding chapter the author intended to write. The reviewer felt the need of such a chapter very much and was prepared to single out this lack for rather sharp comment until he thought of checking back to the first volumes to see if any explanations were offered. Here he also discovered that the translator has undertaken a revision of the text, omitting or more often adding footnotes and occasionally adding to or changing the text itself. There is usually no indication of the translator's emendations, but here is a case where the translation is no doubt a sounder volume than the original, since the translator had access to documents unknown to the author. Nevertheless, in general, the narrative rests on sources available to scholars before the outbreak of World War II. These, let it be said at once, Albertini combed very thoroughly, but the date line would be better 1941 than 1957.

Although there is no final summary and in most cases no chapter conclusion,

the author does intersperse his account with comments and judgments. In fact, he is as prone to say what the statesmen should have done as to relate what they did do: the German leaders should have spoken more sharply to the Austrians, the British should have made clear to Berlin that an invasion of Belgium would bring them into conflict, the Romanian and Italian statesmen should have indicated at an early date that they would not recognize the *casus foederis* arising from Austrian demands on Serbia, the French should not have created the fiction of Austrian mobilization preceding that of Russia and might well have urged Russia to refrain from mobilization. He scatters his criticism freely among the statesmen of all countries, but he centers the blame on Germany. "It was Russia, beyond doubt, who was the first to set the war machine in motion against a Great Power, thus bringing the military chiefs of the other Powers upon the scene and ousting the political leadership. But if on the 30th Bethmann had not let himself be overruled by Moltke, had insisted with Berchtold, on pain of non-recognition of the *casus foederis*, that Austria should content herself with the Anglo-German proposals, and had then waited for Sazonov to follow suit, the peace of the world might have been saved." He believes that Bethmann at heart did not want to avoid war and that Sazonov "although he had willed the mobilization . . . was making sincere efforts to save the peace." Among the great powers, only mobilization in Germany meant war, because of the Schlieffen Plan, and the author assigns a major portion of the responsibility for the war to this fact.

The volume starts with the events of the night of July 29-30, 1914, and in 546 pages reaches the declaration of war by England and France on Austria-Hungary on August 12. Here the author treats almost hour by hour the events in each capital of the major powers. But inasmuch as the accounts center first in Berlin, then in Paris, and so on, there is much repetition; while one gets a separate picture of French, British, German, or Italian policy, a general synthesis is lacking. The volume gives the impression of being a collection of items and events, an impression which is enhanced by the excessive number of quotations. The last 150 pages cover the policy of the small powers at the outbreak of the war; here the treatments of Romania, Greece, Montenegro, and Sweden seem worthy of special mention. A few pages are devoted to American policy.

The reviewer believes that the author exaggerates the significance of Italy's warning to Austria in July, 1913, but this is an event dealt with in more detail in previous volumes. Although there were discussions regarding the renewal of the Russian-Bulgarian treaty of 1902, it was not renewed in 1909, as is here asserted.

Everyone studying in detail the outbreak of World War I will want to consult Albertini's volume. Yet he brings forth no radically new disclosures, and the book is hardly a "must" for the college professor of modern European history.

Bowdoin College

E. C. HELMREICH

STUDIES IN SECRET DIPLOMACY DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR. By W. W. Gottlieb. (Fair Lawn, N. J.: Essential Books, Inc. 1957. Pp. 430. \$6.30.)

ALTHOUGH numerous volumes of Russian documents relating to the First World War have been available in German translation since the early thirties, little attention has been paid to them by historians (as distinct from propagandists) until recently. In 1956 Professor C. Jay Smith, Jr., published *The Russian Struggle for Power, 1914-1917*, and now comes Dr. Gottlieb, of the University of Glasgow, with an even more searching study, the first of two volumes. Gottlieb has been able to use the Italian diplomatic documents from the outbreak of the war to October, 1914, but has not exploited the microfilms of German documents deposited in the Public Record Office and the National Archives.

The topics covered in this volume are the entry of Turkey into the war, the subsequent agreement between the Entente powers about Constantinople and the Straits, and the entry of Italy into the war. No other writer has recounted these stories in such detail or shown so clearly the relation between them, as, notably, in the spring of 1915 when Britain and France, having promised Constantinople to Russia, were able to insist on concessions by Russia in the Adriatic in order to bring Italy into the war. Outstanding also is the demonstration that diplomacy followed the military situation. In the first months of the war, the Entente was anxious, for obvious military reasons, to keep Turkey neutral. After Turkey took the plunge and Britain and France began their attack at the Dardanelles, the Russians became extremely nervous from fear that their allies, having captured Constantinople, would keep it. So they began to exert terrific pressure for an agreement about the future of the city, and in order to keep Russia in the war, Britain and France promised it to Russia, France agreeing to this with the greatest reluctance but forced to it by her terrific losses. At the outset, Russia was quite eager to buy Italy's alliance in order to facilitate the defeat of Austria, but Britain and France thought the Italian price too high. By the spring of 1915, it was the British and French whose military situation was difficult and who were more inclined to accept the Italian terms. The Russians, on the other hand, having captured Przemyśl, were less yielding and did their best to cut down the Italian demands in the Adriatic.

If Italy drove a hard bargain, it was partly because its former allies offered "a good deal" (the famous *parecchio* of Giolitti), and the interventionists had to be able to show that Italy would get more by entering the war. The government played one side against the other in shameless fashion. Even so, Gottlieb thinks, the mass of the people, from aristocrats and clericals to peasants and workers, was opposed to war, and in the end, the Giolittian majority in parliament had to be terrorized into war by street demonstrations. Austria was not averse to war, for by this time the Russians were on the run in Galicia, and the Vienna govern-

ment expected to turn on the hated Italians and smash them.

An important feature of the book is the clear statement of economic interests—the British, French, and German holdings in Turkey and Italy. In each case the British and the French were stronger than the Germans: Italy's economy could be dangerously impeded by Britain and France if Italy did not join them; on the other hand, a German victory in Turkey could gravely imperil Anglo-French investments there. Although the diplomatists usually talked about territory and strategy, they did not forget the economic implications of their actions.

Alexandria, Virginia

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS, 1917-1920. Volume II, THE DECISION TO INTERVENE. By *George F. Kennan*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 513. \$7.50.)

LIKE its predecessor, *Russia Leaves the War*, this second of presumably three volumes is a painstakingly accurate and superbly written narrative of a four-month period. It opens with the ratification of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March, 1918, and closes, save for a brief glance forward, with Wilson's authorization in July to commit American ground forces in North Russia and Eastern Siberia. That fateful decision is analyzed in infinite detail and from a broader array of sources than any previous writer has used. With a keen sense of drama and a sharp eye for personalities, Mr. Kennan shuttles the reader back and forth between the key centers: Murmansk and Archangel in the frigid arctic wastes, Vladivostok in the seething cauldron of East Asia, Moscow where the Bolsheviks experienced their darkest hour, Vologda where the American ambassador clung to a half-relationship with an unrecognized regime, the vast distances along the Trans-Siberian Railway where the Czechoslovaks provided the final argument for a reluctant President, and Washington where Wilson overruled his military advisers to embark upon a course the tragic consequences of which we still feel today. Since the Armistice would nullify these operations even as they began and invalidate every justification for them, the author concludes that "never, surely, in the history of American diplomacy has so much been paid for so little."

The virtues of this work are many. One is the emphasis on the ever-present problems of the Great War, be they the gigantic German offensive hurled against the British on March 21 or the frantic plea of the Supreme War Council on July 2 as the fate of Paris hung in the balance. A second is the reduction to rightful proportions of the motive so often given for American intervention—a desire to strangle communism at its birth. A third is the reminder of the pitfalls confronting all governments—imprecision in diplomacy, inadequate consultation in coalition warfare, inconstancy in implementing decisions already taken. A fourth is the fairness in dealing with persons. The chapter entitled "*Envoi to Robins*" is a masterly appraisal of a much misunderstood individual, and even Wilson special-

ists can profit from such judgments as "a man who read more gladly than he listened" and "read with greatest receptivity all that which was not addressed directly to him" or a man who tended "to paralyze the regular channels of intercourse by ignoring them." A fifth virtue is the first-hand knowledge which makes possible striking descriptions of the climate and terrain. A sixth is the plenitude of large-scale maps and contemporary illustrations so frequently absent in a day of costly printing. A seventh is the purity and grace of style, also too often lacking in a day of hasty publication.

Despite his indefatigable research, Kennan would be the first to admit that future investigation may yield new interpretations. He enjoyed only limited access to the British and German archives and none at all to the Russian, French, and Japanese. The materials in Tokyo have been fully exploited by James W. Morley in *The Japanese Thrust into Siberia, 1918* (1957), which appeared too late to be utilized, but his conclusions confirm rather than invalidate Kennan's account. Indeed, as our author observes, the "complexity of contacts between the bloated governmental bureaucracies and the stupendous volume of the written record to which they have given rise" leave the historian of twentieth-century diplomacy "no choice but to simplify, to generalize, and to ask the reader to lean on his judgment." Happily, the reader can lean on Kennan's sound judgment with complete confidence.

Northwestern University

RICHARD W. LEOPOLD

UNHOLY ALLIANCE: RUSSIAN-GERMAN RELATIONS FROM THE TREATY OF BREST-LITOVSK TO THE TREATY OF BERLIN. By *Gerald Freund*. With an introduction by *J. W. Wheeler-Bennett*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1957. Pp. xix, 283. \$6.00.)

RELATIONS between the Weimar Republic and the Soviet Union have been the subject of several books and articles in recent years. None of these has claimed to be definitive, but the significance of the subject seemed to justify even such preliminary assessments. This latest contribution belongs in the same category. While the author did use some new sources, the major part of his book is based on materials already studied by other scholars. For the past two years, however, substantial new sources on Russo-German relations have been made available with the opening to research of the papers of Brockdorff-Rantzau and the German Foreign Ministry documents for the Weimar period. Dr. Freund did not have access to these materials when he wrote his book, but they were released long before it was published. It is thus misleading to say, as the jacket does, that the book is "up-to-date." The reference concerning the "German Foreign Office files which the Allied editors have seen fit to withhold from research scholars" certainly is no longer correct; in view of the helpfulness that the American editors of the German documents have always shown to scholars, it is also unfair.

The introductory chapters of the book do make use of the German Foreign Ministry documents for the years before 1920 and thus present interesting new information. As for the years after 1920, it is difficult to say to what extent the voluminous documentation we now have will change the outlines of Russo-German relations as they have been known for some time. One thing the new documents do show is that there was at no time any alliance between the Weimar Republic and the Soviet Union, a fact which makes the title of Freund's book somewhat misleading. On some subsidiary questions, moreover, such as the relations between the Reichswehr and the Red Army, or Russia's feelers for an alliance in 1924-1925, or the important subject of Russo-German economic negotiations, the new documents reveal much we did not know before or only knew dimly.

It would be unfair to judge the book on the basis of evidence that was not available when it was written, but even if one ignores the new documentation, some of the author's findings remain open to criticism. The time-worn assertion that the "alliance" between Groener and Ebert in 1918 "doomed the Weimar Republic at birth" certainly needs qualification in the light of more recent research. In view of Freund's claim that "there is still insufficient factual evidence to sustain any of the numerous opinions about Rathenau's conception of German Foreign Policy," one is surprised at the finality of his judgment on Rathenau as "an egotist and a fatalist" who compared favorably, however, with the "lesser men with smaller minds, fewer scruples, and none of his altruism, like those who panicked him into signing the Treaty of Rapallo." These are harsh words about so devoted a diplomat as Ago von Maltzan or such able negotiators as Moritz Schlesinger and Gustav Hilger. To quote the summary of Germany's military aims in Russia that Helm Speidel gives in the *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, as though it represents the verbatim terms of a Russo-German military agreement (variously dated August, 1922 or 1923), is misleading. There is much ambiguity in Freund's judgment on Gustav Stresemann. To say that it is "impossible to determine how much Stresemann was directly involved" in Russo-German military relations is no longer tenable, because there is evidence that he was very much involved. And the answer to the question "Was Stresemann a patriot or a statesman?" is quite simply that he was both.

These are some of the points on which one might take issue with Freund's book. Yet all this should not detract from the valuable service it performs in giving a full and readable survey of Russo-German relations during the early twenties as they appeared before the documents for the Weimar period were released.

Johns Hopkins University

HANS W. GATZKE

- SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1954. By *Coral Bell*. Edited by *F. C. Benham*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xi, 329. \$7.20.)
- DOCUMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1954. Selected and edited by *Denise Folliot*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xvii, 368. \$8.80.)

With these volumes Coral Bell assumes the authorship of the *Survey*, while the *Documents* resume the independent but complementary status of the prewar series. The brief introductions which now precede each section of the documents contribute substantially to their usefulness and in no way conflict with the purposes of the *Survey*.

The Far East was the focus of events in 1954 that brought the rest of the world dangerously near to war. In Indochina, Dien Bien Phu became the symbol of French failure and Communist strength, leading to the Geneva Conference of the summer. In the course of these developments, the United States, alarmed at the prospect of further Communist advances in East Asia, came very close to intervention in support of the French and Viet Nam forces. For a variety of reasons, including perhaps French and British apprehensions aroused by the recently announced "massive retaliation" policy of Mr. Dulles, these plans were abandoned. Subsequently, Mr. Dulles, in a much discussed comment quoted on the title page of the *Survey*, claimed that the United States had deliberately advanced to the "verge of war" and, by its threat of action, greatly strengthened the hands of Eden and Mendès-France at Geneva.

Meantime, more direct Chinese-American tension was mounting over the defense of Formosa and the offshore islands held by the Nationalist Government. At the year's end several hostile incidents had occurred, and the situation was further complicated by Communist China's announcement of the arrest and sentencing for espionage of thirteen American citizens. In addition, the continued failure to achieve a peaceful political settlement of the Korean question, which was also considered at Geneva, remained a constant source of friction, aggravated by the militant statements of President Rhee.

In an effort to strengthen the resistance of Southeast Asian states to Communist pressure, Mr. Dulles proposed in March a plan for a mutual security agreement, including Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States, as well as the nations most directly endangered. As negotiations progressed, the difficulties in achieving effective military and political collaboration became increasingly evident, and the pact signed in Manila on September 8 was a considerably less positive arrangement than that projected by Mr. Dulles in March.

In Western Europe the final rejection of EDC by the French prompted the remarkable rescue operation carried out by Eden, who found an answer to Ger-

man participation in continental defense through WEU. But among the many events of 1954 reported in these volumes, the future may reveal, as the *Survey* suggests, that the most important were those which concerned the new advances in nuclear weapons, the recognition of an atomic stalemate, and the attendant changes in public attitudes and policies.

University of Colorado

ROBERT PAUL BROWDER

ELIZABETH I AND HER PARLIAMENTS, 1584-1601. By J. E. Neale. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1957. Pp. 452. \$6.00.)

SIR John Neale's history of Elizabethan parliaments is at last complete, and scholars are in a position to appraise the magnitude of his contribution to the reign of the great queen and the evolution of parliamentary institutions. The first volume, which appeared in 1949, was confined entirely to the House of Commons and dealt mainly with its election, its composition, and, most important of all, its procedure. The chapters on procedure alone constitute the most important contribution to the institutional history of the House of Commons during the last generation.

The last two volumes of Sir John's trilogy deal with Elizabeth's parliaments, one after the other, during the whole course of her reign. The books are not limited to the House of Commons, but they are virtually limited to those issues in which the queen and her parliaments were at odds—we had better say the queen and her Commons, since the Lords could almost always be counted upon to support the royal position.

One has only to compare the narrative of any one of Elizabeth's parliaments as set forth in D'Ewes, the only other detailed account we have, with Sir John's chapter on the same parliament to realize how much we owe to him. His contribution has been partly in interpretation, as witness his brilliant analysis of the passage of the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, and partly in the revelation of many unknown or at any rate unutilized diaries of Elizabethan Commoners. He not only has added many details to the story but has put flesh and blood on the bare skeleton of the official journals. Debates in the House become alive under his skillful handling, and mere names become interesting personalities. Incidentally, he has produced a respectable corpus of parliamentary eloquence.

In this connection he places Sir Christopher Hatton, otherwise known as a royal favorite, at the very pinnacle of parliamentary orators. Hatton indeed is the hero of the first part of Volume III. His elevation to the House of Lords as lord chancellor in 1587 robbed the queen of her most eloquent spokesman in the lower house. Another orator, of quite a different stripe, is revealed by Sir John's skillful identification of a manuscript in the Morgan Library in New York. It turns out to have been a speech by Job Throgmorton, so full of life and fire as to lead Sir John to conclude that only one Puritan in the Commons could have com-

posed and delivered it—none other than the mysterious Martin Marprelate.

It is unfortunate that Sir John has not told us more about his discoveries, particularly about the parliamentary diaries. He contents himself with the barest reference to them. The pressure of publishers to eliminate or curtail footnotes, presumably upon the assumption that readers do not want to be distracted by them, is having a damaging effect upon works of scholarship. In the case of Sir John, we have long learned to take what he says as gospel without documentation, but the danger is that indifferent scholars, prompted by his example, will take the same liberty and put forth extravagant hypotheses without substantiating evidence.

It is important to realize that Sir John has not undertaken to write the history of Elizabeth's parliaments but simply the relations of the parliaments to the Crown. He deals with matters controversial, with the succession, with church reform, with the prerogative. For the most part these controversies were fruitless. Very little of them found its way into legislation. Indeed, some of the most important statutes of the reign go virtually without mention—the Statute of Apprentices of 1563, for example, and the Poor Law of 1601. It is hard to believe that laws of such fundamental importance passed without debate. But, and we must not blame Sir John, it was either not recorded or the record of it has eluded his indefatigable quest.

His own loyalties are divided. His admiration of Elizabeth is so little short of idolatry that he even finds extenuating circumstances for her abortive efforts to have Mary Stuart privately murdered. At the same time his sympathies are strong for the fighting Puritans. I think he does something less than justice to Whitgift and the Anglicans. John Whitgift was as firm in his convictions and fought as hard for them as the Puritans did for theirs. He thought the Anglican church was in jeopardy, as indeed it was, and he wanted to save it, not only its bishops, but also its ritual and its book of common prayer. There are those of us who feel that with all its faults it was worth saving. And in the long run it turned out to be more congenial to the temper of the English than the Puritan alternative.

The illustrations constitute in themselves important contributions to the subject. Those of Hatton and Raleigh are both much more interesting than the more familiar ones; those of Heneage, Unton, and Hoby, from private collections, are virtually unknown. They are superbly reproduced, thanks, no doubt, to the English publisher, Jonathan Cape.

Sir John's last volume was ready for the press when he reached the age limit which required him to retire, with his zeal and his powers quite unimpaired. He promptly offered to continue his seminar on a voluntary basis at the University of London and was permitted to do so. It remains still the mecca of Elizabethan students on both sides of the sea. One has only to examine his footnotes to discover that the members of that seminar have made important contributions to his masterpiece. Indeed, one of his great services to the advancement of learning has

been the development of a fine spirit of solidarity among those who have worked under him and with him. Most of the meritorious work in Elizabethan history during the past thirty years has passed under his kindly eyes and has profited by his learning and his wisdom. It will be a fitting climax to his services to American scholarship when he comes to Washington in November at the invitation of the Folger Library to help celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the accession of the Virgin Queen.

Villa Nova, Pennsylvania

CONYERS READ

THE GREATNESS OF OLIVER CROMWELL. By *Maurice Ashley*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1957. Pp. 382. \$5.00.)

THIS, the second life of Cromwell by Ashley, is a judicious and well-written account of the main events in Cromwell's life. Good use is made of Abbott's *Writings and Speeches*, and later research is also incorporated. There are nine excellent illustrations and some useful maps. The greatness of Cromwell is held to lie in his struggle to win and preserve liberty of conscience, which to Cromwell was "the main cause of the civil wars," as its security was "the leading purpose of government."

The chief difficulty in interpreting Cromwell's character lies in the intermingling of worldly and spiritual motives. Ashley describes Cromwell's social background but asserts that this determined his religious and political outlook "to only a limited extent." The spiritual side, however, receives careful treatment. It is fully demonstrated that in the great crises of his life Cromwell was hesitant, unsure, and anxious to avoid extremes. In certain places, however, Ashley's background is not quite adequate. His account of Cromwell's part in the struggle between parliament and the army in 1647 would have been improved if he had shown how the Presbyterian army officers (one quarter of the whole) were purged and replaced by Independents. Although there is no evidence of Cromwell's share in this it undoubtedly affected his decision, reluctantly reached, to acquiesce in the army's determination to dictate terms.

Ashley regards the Protectorate much as a struggle between liberty and order, with Cromwell and the army holding the balance. Oliver's liberalism is well brought out in a number of individual cases, but to attribute the subsequent establishment of parliamentary sovereignty to the execution of Charles I, for which Cromwell was chiefly responsible, will hardly find general acceptance. Perhaps this interpretation explains the mildness of Ashley's verdict on the exclusion from Cromwell's second parliament of one hundred known opponents of military rule, themselves joined by half as many again who absented themselves in protest. A different verdict might be that in 1660 parliament as well as the king was restored, despite the debasement it had undergone at the hands of Cromwell and the army.

Ashley does not seriously attempt to estimate Cromwell in the light of public opinion. A number of favorable contemporary verdicts are quoted, and it is affirmed that Cromwell's mind was not cast "in a despotic mould." Some further consideration of the popular attitude toward moral reformation, however, would have emphasized the power which the Protector exercised and how much the Puritan experiment depended on him. The almost immediate collapse of this experiment in the hands of mediocre successors after his death reveals Cromwell's greatness in its true perspective.

Vanderbilt University

P. H. HARDACRE

THE CHATHAM ADMINISTRATION, 1766-1768. By *John Brooke*. [England in the Age of the American Revolution.] (New York: St Martin's Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 400.)

It has been more than a quarter-century since Sir Lewis B. Namier presented his monumental study of English politics in the early years of George III's reign. Historians have never ceased to lament that he has found it impossible to carry his work further. It is at least partial compensation that a group of young historians selected by Sir Lewis himself has now taken up the task.

Here is the most detailed treatment yet of the Chatham administration. It is a confusing story: the grand assault against "faction" in July, 1766, Chatham's disastrous illness, Grafton's timorous search for buttresses from Bedfords and Rockinghams, the Grenvilles' preoccupation with America—all this against a background of sombre news from the colonies and growing tumults around Wilkes at home. Mr. Brooke's narrative, comprising seven of ten chapters, is clear and straightforward. There is a two-chapter essay on party and an excellent analysis of the election of 1768, which is the best portion of the book. The debt to Namier is obvious.

So detailed a study is itself a mosaic; it is a pity that there is an occasional crack or chip. Why should Chatham's gout in winter, 1766-1767, be doubted? In view of the great man's imminent collapse, Walpole's and Rockingham's gossip carries little weight. Again, why say Chatham "refused" to put the Privy Seal to Boteourt's charter? Sunk in the depths of illness, Chatham was *unable* to act. The outstanding political fact of the time was Chatham's affliction. Why are we not told more about it? Finally, to assert that "the real issue in America was not taxation but sovereignty" in 1766-1767 is a misreading of the American problem. More broadly, party was certainly intensely personal, but can the quest for political power be divorced from the question of policy? Wilkes and America demanded policy decisions from all parties and engendered a conservative reaction which was the seedbed of a new Tory party. Yet, little attention is paid to the King's Friends, perhaps the most dynamic of all parties.

The work is based chiefly on manuscript sources, but few changes are made

in the accepted version of events. Brooke has imposed an unfortunate limit upon himself by disregarding secondary works (only four are mentioned, two by Namier and one a history of the First World War). He has overlooked, for instance, the assertion that Chatham planned a new Department of State for America in 1766. Surely, to have dealt with this question would have been more useful than counting the capitals in a paragraph of a Chatham letter. Perhaps a bibliography was deemed superfluous.

On balance, it is good to have this work. Deftness and insight characterize the treatment of individual personalities, and the Old Whigs are exposed once more as masters at rationalizing their own exclusion from political power.

Kenyon College

CHARLES R. RITCHESON

GEORGE III AND THE HISTORIANS. By *Herbert Butterfield*. (London: Collins Publishers. 1957. Pp. 304. 21s.)

IN substance, Professor Butterfield restates briefly the findings of historians who have dealt with the early years of the reign of George III, beginning with the contemporary volumes of the *Annual Register* and concluding with the incomplete project of Sir Lewis Namier and his disciples. The last third of the book is devoted to "the Namier School." Butterfield has himself made a substantial contribution to the history of the reign of George III, though at a later stage, in his *George III, Lord North, and the People, 1779-1780* (1949). One does not have to agree with every charge in the indictment of the works of Namier and his disciples to regard *George III and the Historians* as a helpful book. Butterfield recognizes the considerable contributions made and likely to be made by the Namier group; he fears, however, that their extensive, detailed studies in a narrow range may, in ways he tries to suggest, have the effect of substituting one inadequate legend for another.

Sir Lewis Namier began to study the imperial problem during the American Revolution in 1912 and visited the United States. An American historian suggested to him that the British phase of the contest had been neglected, while many students in the United States were working on the subject from the point of view of the colonies. After the interruption of the First World War, acting on this suggestion, Namier published *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* (1929), which in fact was a description of the composition of the House of Commons and the methods by which its members were chosen at that juncture and of the relations of the king and his ministers with that body. *England in the Age of the American Revolution* followed the next year, a narrative of political maneuvers from the accession of George III to the resignation of Newcastle. Namier's work on the subject was then interrupted again and not resumed until after the Second World War, when he began to direct an extensive study of the history of parliament. The first installment of the revised project is John Brooke's

The Chatham Administration, 1766-1768 (1956). Namier proposes to rewrite and republish his own initial volume under the more appropriate title, *Newcastle and Bute*, making it one of a series with the general title *England in the Age of the American Revolution*. Associates will push the subject backward to 1754 and forward to 1784, apparently with similar emphases and on the scale characteristic of the two volumes already published.

Butterfield's complaint that Namier and his group have neglected the work of historians who have preceded them, some of whom reached similar conclusions, will scarcely deter those enlisted in the project in progress from going on in the manner they have begun. There is something to be said for beginning anew when one is seeking to modify the approaches to a subject traditional at various stages in the past. And Butterfield's criticism will not be helpful if it serves merely to generate controversy. It might contribute more to enlarge and illumine the subject if it should inspire mature scholars to traverse again the wealth of information and materials brought to light by the Namier group, beginning considerably earlier in time, adopting somewhat different premises, and raising questions that would call for answers more complex than any contained in the volumes of Namier and Brooke.

Duke University

W. T. LAPRADE

ENGLISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS. Volume X, 1714-1783. Edited by D. B. Horn and Mary Ransome. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xxvii, 972. \$15.20.)

THE volumes of *English Historical Documents* resemble one another but are not uniform. The differences arise from the editors' assessments of the "needs" of their respective periods. The editors of Volume X preferred to classify their documents under the following headings—The Monarchy, Parliament, The Law and Its Administration, Public Finance, The Churches, The State of the Nation: Economic, The State of the Nation: Social, The Armed Forces, Scotland, Ireland, The Colonies, and Foreign Policy and Wars.

I must say at the outset that Volume X, with its documents, bibliographies, sectional introductions, and maps and diagrams, will supply a real need for students of eighteenth-century Britain. I must also say that I am less enthusiastic about this volume than about others in the series. The general editor's comment upon the "hazards of selecting" from the great mass of available materials anticipates without destroying some of my criticisms. Volume X contains 285 documents, all but one from printed sources. The editors have not drawn as freely as I expected they would from contemporary magazines, newspapers, and pamphlets. Nearly all of the documents print up three pages or less, and only four are as long as six pages. There are nine treaties, forty-one statutes on a variety of subjects, and almost an equal number of documents referring to judicial and parliamentary

proceedings. Another editor might have searched more diligently in out-of-the-way places, treated local government and humanitarianism more generously, and found room for more than four documents on political parties by omitting some of the nine devoted to parliamentary reform. He might not have drawn upon Arthur Young for six of the eight documents on agriculture. If he had criticized "drum and trumpet historians" who emphasize military achievements "unduly," he would not have printed twenty-one descriptions of battles and sieges and only four documents on foreign policy (none after 1750).

With respect to other matters, my disagreement is more than a difference of opinion about the propriety of including certain documents. Because of its topical composition, the general introduction encroaches upon the function of the sectional introductions, which is to elucidate the documents. For all the purpose it serves, the general introduction could have yielded to another score of documents. By way of contrast, the introductions to Volumes VIII and XII (1) are pleasing narrative essays. The bibliographies in Volume X, evaluated as they must be in terms of their highly selective natures, are not satisfying. Treating of a period about which American historians have written so many good things, the editors have overlooked some that deserve notice. Perhaps I missed it, but I did not find any reference to the *William and Mary Quarterly*. The bibliography on the colonies mentions only three works on the Seven Years' War, the latest published in 1904. Professor Gipson's history of the British Empire is not listed in connection with the war, and it is described in another places as "7 vols., Caldwell, Idaho, 1936-1949."

Despite what I consider to be its shortcomings, so large a collection of documents is bound to be useful. This one will serve best the convenience of persons who are especially interested in political and constitutional history.

University of Kentucky

CARL B. CONE

PRE-FAMINE IRELAND: A STUDY IN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY.

By T. W. Freeman. (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc. 1957. Pp. viii, 352. \$7.00.)

THIS book is an important addition to scholarly studies on nineteenth-century Ireland. The author, a distinguished geographer now at the University of Manchester, knows Ireland well. For fourteen years he was at Trinity College, Dublin, and for three years served as president of the Geographical Society of Ireland. In 1950 he published *Ireland: Its Physical, Historical, Social, and Economic Geography*.

It has not been Professor Freeman's purpose to explain the ultimate causes of Ireland's economic plight on the eve of the famine or to write extensively of remedies. He has stuck to his self-imposed geographer's assignment, to his central question: "How did the population live on this island?" Nonetheless, from

these well-ordered and richly statistical pages, and from the author's discussion and comment, a vivid picture of the early forties emerges. Population was a central problem, probably reaching eight and a half million in 1845; land, on which two thirds of the people depended, was indeed the "besieged fortress" which the traveler de Beaumont had called it in 1839. "Poverty was stark, housing wretched, trade inadequate, agriculture backward, industry faltering," writes Freeman. This picture is familiar to students of prefamine Ireland. The merit of this book is to show it in rich detail and in local variation and also to show brighter spots where they existed. The book has two parts: in the first, economic and social conditions throughout the country are examined; in the second, town and country life in each of the four provinces is described and studied. Forty-three maps and seven statistical tables are included.

The author has used the census of 1841 as a major source. A social survey and not a mere enumeration, the census covered such matters as housing, education, farmers' resources, emigration, and the value of agricultural produce. Of comparable value, he tells us, was the Drummond Commission report on Irish railways. Government reports, especially the famous Devon report on land, ordnance survey maps, travelers' accounts, and contemporary analyses of Irish maladies have been effectively used. Praise must be given the author for his skill in weaving these difficult and complicated materials together and for discussing them in a clear and readable style.

For historians of Ireland in the forties, this book will be invaluable. It gives perspective, for example, to the arguments and aspirations of the Young Irelanders. It suggests also why repeal of the Union could seem to many a sure remedy, for it was widely believed that the country had been more prosperous before 1800. Finally, in the economic field especially, this book is a fresh reminder of the intricate and difficult problems involved in any reform of the Irish old regime.

Connecticut College

HELEN F. MULVEY

JACQUES MALLET-DU PAN. By *Nicola Matteucci*. [Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici in Napoli, Volume 9.] (Naples: the Institute. 1957. Pp. 423. L. 3,000.)

IN 1951, Nicola Matteucci published a book on the historical philosophy of Antonio Gramsci. To move with ease from the world of the *Partito Comunista Italiano* and the *Ordine Nuovo* to that of the *Club Monarchique* and the *Mercure de France* requires considerable intellectual dexterity. By mastering an enormous quantity of monographic literature, Matteucci has accomplished this feat with grace. Historians who may not accept, as Matteucci does, Gramsci's *filosofia della prassi* will nonetheless welcome his latest book as a worthy addition to the outstanding volumes on European intellectual history published by the Croce Institute.

Mallet is portrayed in this work not as a bone of contention between Taine and Aulard but rather as a "great European journalist" who consistently advocated the unpopular causes of religious toleration, civil liberties, constitutional government, and moderate reform, because he could withstand persecution from Jacobins and royalists more easily than he could the proddings of his Protestant conscience, and who thus helped to bridge the gap, torn by revolution and war, between the generation of Burlamaqui and that of de Tocqueville. Although this conception of Mallet's historic mission is not new, Matteucci has played certain variations on a theme that was sounded more than a century ago in the *Causeries du Lundi* and only eleven years ago in *The Cambridge Journal*. By fully orchestrating his theme, the author has demonstrated in an original fashion how the interaction between the Calvinist ethos of the Genevan Republic, the political ideas of the Enlightenment, and the plural institutions of the Swiss Confederation contributed to European liberalism.

One major criticism must be made. Although the scope of this work far exceeds the limits set by the birth and death of its eponymous subject, the author never makes clear what its actual limits are. As his table of contents shows, he has not found an adequate alternative for the biographical framework he has rejected. As a result, his work is amorphous. Without a preface or subtitle as a guide, the reader must progress through more than one hundred pages devoted to "Geneva and the Enlightenment" before arriving at Mallet's birth and must struggle thereafter to extricate from a mass of extraneous material the pattern of Mallet's development as "a Genevan during the Revolution," only to arrive at a concluding chapter which leaves many earlier themes unresolved. The classified bibliography of biographical material contains few of the many references cited in the text. In short, the author has produced a series of separate essays rather than a coherent synthesis. The whole of this book is less than the sum of its parts. Historians who are interested in the search for a middle ground between the divine right of kings and the divine right of "the people" will find most parts of this book well worth reading.

Bethesda, Maryland

ELIZABETH L. EISENSTEIN

THE FRENCH NATION FROM NAPOLEON TO PÉTAIN, 1814-1940. By D. W. Brogan. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1957. Pp. 328. \$4.50.)

ADMIRATION and a ludicrous sneaking envy may well be the general sensation experienced on turning the final page of this book. It is so civilized, so easy, so spare in style and trenchant in judgment. Surely there is no one writing in English today with such a flair for recounting the recent French past. And where is the Frenchman who can approach Mr. Brogan? Possibly someone like those excellent writers René Rémond and Raoul Girardet will one day produce an essay to set beside this one. There is as yet no sign of it. (One thinks of Jacques

Chastenet, moving forward carefully and at length, placing students in his debt but not really fascinating them—and hardly likely to from the coveted and now secure eminence of an Academic seat and in the aftermath of a not so remote past in the editorial offices of *Le Temps*. It will not come from him. Immortality is its own revenge.) The pity of it all is that Frenchmen may never see this book. They will not, of course, on that account be utterly destitute. There are better, more fundamental books on the Restoration and the July Monarchy. The same is true for the Second Empire. As for the Third Republic, there are books like Maurice Baumont's—although it was Brogan himself who wrote the best account of it almost twenty years ago. And it no longer seems surprising that in a country where the trashiest English-language novels (as well as some of the best) appear about as quickly as some harassed translator can churn them out, *France under the Republic* remains available in the original only and is therefore unread. It is simply an indication of the present state of study in the Fourth Republic on the unregretted Third. Great things may be in store. One's hopes could rest in the Institut d'Études Politiques. But the time is evidently not yet. For us, then, in the relatively uncommitted English-speaking world, *The French Nation* seems all the more valuable—and not only for its later chapters.

This is not the first such book. J. P. T. Bury's account of almost a decade ago follows precisely the same road from Fontainebleau to Vichy. But it is no derogation of his very sound study to say that it does not compare with this crisp, allusive, and often charming discourse. Bury's is a first-rate small scale history; Brogan's is a scintillating essay. They are less competitive than complementary. The former proficiently goes about the task of informing us. The latter excites and flatters us—even with those references we can only wish we understood. The range of Brogan's literary, social, and political lore is, as always, astonishing. His evocative powers are considerable, if not so commanding as, say, G. M. Young's. On the whole, there are few over-all pronouncements covering the 125 years. Naturally, criticism of all the regimes, the classes, the masses, and individuals, is expressed. The pitfalls of excessive moralizing—surely one of the cardinal dangers for anyone writing about France—are sidestepped. Nevertheless, if Brogan professes not to be “either disappointed or surprised” by anything, he does tend to grow slightly more disapproving as his story draws to its unhappy end. “It is hard to be just to the Restoration,” he says of an earlier time. “Its final follies were not less criminal for being childish. It wrecked whatever chances there were of uniting the two Frances. Yet its achievements were real.” But the Third Republic? There is little in these pages to qualify the follies and failures. The Third Republic “had erected evasion of responsibility into a system of government.” It had “condemned itself as no previous regime had done.” Perhaps, indeed, this was so, and it deserved no more—even in the era of a Fourth Republic, which might one day seem to have deserved still less.

University of Toronto

JOHN C. CAIRNS

COMBAT: HISTOIRE D'UN MOUVEMENT DE RÉSISTANCE DE JUILLET 1940 À JUILLET 1943. By Marie Granet and Henri Michel. [Collection "Esprit de la Résistance."] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957. Pp. 330. 1,000 fr.)

L'EXODE DE MAI-JUIN 1940. By Jean Vidalenc. Preface by Daniel Mayer. [Collection "Esprit de la Résistance."] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957. Pp. viii, 439. 1,600 fr.)

HISTORIANS who have sought to examine the bifurcated history of France from 1940 to 1944 have hitherto been more attracted to the Vichy episode than to the underground and Gaullism. Perhaps historians are by nature intrigued by lost causes, or perhaps the Vichy phase is simply better documented. At any rate, the Free French movement and the resistance have remained in historical limbo. Important steps toward remedying this are now being taken under the sponsorship of the Committee on the History of the Second World War. Six volumes in the series *Esprit de la Résistance* have now appeared; among them are the two books here reviewed.

Granet's and Michel's *Combat* is, surprisingly, the first serious attempt to trace the history of an organized underground movement. The task was difficult; such an organization could keep few records, and many of the leading figures did not survive to tell the story. The authors have had to rely mainly on piecemeal oral testimony with all its hazards. The product is nevertheless a remarkably solid and convincing volume, providing evidence that sound history can be written from such materials.

The choice of *Combat* rather than some other group was a logical and happy one. It was among the earliest to be formed, and it was probably the largest; the authors estimate that by 1943 it had enrolled thirty-five thousand men in its paramilitary branch and almost one hundred thousand in various local nonmilitary units. Its newspaper eventually attained a circulation of two hundred thousand copies and was read by several hundred thousand more. The authors believe that no other movement contributed so much to the resistance and the liberation. If and when a history of the Communist underground is written, it will be interesting to compare the achievements of the two groups; the evidence here presented seems to justify *Combat's* claim to preeminence.

Mme. Granet and M. Michel have made no effort to dramatize their story; on the contrary, they stress the austerity and loneliness of underground life. Yet the drama comes through nevertheless, as in the account of the monumental problems involved in printing and distributing tens of thousands of copies of a clandestine newspaper and in the story of the feuds and rivalries that developed as the movement gained size and importance. There are some exceptionally interesting passages on the relationships between *Combat's* founder, Henri Frenay, and de Gaulle's delegate, Jean Moulin (who does not here measure up to his popular

reputation as the giant and the Galahad of the underground), on the severe conflicts between the underground and Gaullist headquarters in London, on the infiltration of *Combat* by the Communists, and on *Combat's* contacts with American agents. The authors' objectivity, incidentally, seems to break down somewhat whenever the Americans come on the scene. A balanced analysis will have to await the opening of the American files.

Jean Vidalenc's account of the great exodus of 1940 is a much less arresting story, though probably through no fault of the author. He has dealt here with a kind of natural cataclysm, an unforeseen disaster that stunned its victims and left little record save in men's memories. Vidalenc has made a noble attempt to give the subject shape and meaning, yet the reader soon finds himself satiated with the record of confusion and with the largely repetitive reminiscences of participants in the flight. Six million people, more or less, were suddenly uprooted from their homes and fled pell-mell into regions that had made absolutely no preparation to receive them. The drama and human misery inherent in such an episode are obvious, and the reader experiences a gnawing sense of guilt as he finds himself becoming almost bored by the story.

Vidalenc's "provisional conclusion" is that responsibility for the disaster must be borne by France's military leaders, who failed to make adequate provision for such an emergency and who would have claimed the credit if the exodus had been "prepared, organized, canalized." Perhaps this judgment should give pause to present-day officials whose duty it is to prepare measures of civilian defense—and to those citizens who find it hard to take the problem seriously. More debatable is Vidalenc's belief that the exodus was a kind of instinctive reflex indicating France's will to resist—"an anticipatory plebiscite against collaboration" and an act of faith in the French army's ability to stop the Germans. Such a view must be consoling to French patriots, but it seems more likely that men who flee before an earthquake are seldom conscious of voting for or against the earthquake.

Stanford University

GORDON WRIGHT

UNRUHE DES NORDENS: STUDIEN ZUR DEUTSCH-SKANDINAVISCHEN GESCHICHTE. By *Walther Hubatsch*. (Göttingen: Musters Schmidt Verlag. 1956. Pp. 243. DM 14.80.)

THROUGH a number of studies, Walther Hubatsch, a Göttingen scholar, has in recent years become known as one of the specialists on Germany and its historical relations with the Baltic-Scandinavian area. The present work, however, is a less well integrated volume than some earlier ones, no doubt because the essays have been prepared at different times for diverse purposes or, in some cases, appear as reworkings of subjects treated previously.

The theme uniting these essays is well chosen. Scandinavia, often considered a "quiet corner" of Europe, has had its periods of unquietness. One such was the

day of Viking expansion, which is here treated in its broad European phase; this survey in succinct and readable German is one of the best summaries of the topic to come to this reader's attention. Another period of disturbance is treated in a chapter entitled "Gustav Adolf—Ein Christlicher Staatsmann?" It is the twentieth century which chiefly engages the author, and eight of the eleven studies fall within it. Three deal with German-Finnish relations in the two World Wars, and two bear on German relations with Norway and Denmark in the second of these conflicts. One chapter is devoted to a sizable military undertaking supposedly planned in 1942–1943 against Sweden as operation "Polarfuchs," but this, Hubatsch holds, was only a theoretic and contingent plan, such as every general staff assembles in its files for possible, but not very likely, use. A survey of the efforts in the twenties and thirties to strengthen the ties of Scandinavian unity is based too narrowly on the lively press and pamphleteering activity, chiefly Swedish, in the first half of the forties. A final essay on the Scandinavian "white books" points out how limited in value officially published source materials can be, even when issued after hostilities are over.

Hubatsch has consulted a wide range of materials, Scandinavian as well as German. For World War I he had access to some useful Finnish archival material; here he leans surprisingly heavily on the reports and accounts of the chief Finnish representative in Berlin in 1917–1918, namely Edvard Hjelt. By contrast he is somewhat impatient with Mannerheim and his role.

In their general mood and tone these essays are uniformly sober and objective. Yet, more often than not, it is the German side of the story that remains, ably presented one must readily admit. Somewhat labored, for instance, is the point that in 1918–1919 there was no German "occupation" in Finland. And, one may ask, will the favorable judgment on the regular German diplomatic personnel stand firm—at the expense of *Wehrmacht* leadership and party zealots—as more correspondence and archival material becomes accessible? Answers to questions on this order must wait. In the meantime, this volume provides provocative introductions to several topics in recent history that will be subject to further probing during the next generation of north European scholarship.

New York University

OSCAR J. FALNES

SUOMEN ITSENÄISTYMINEN JA SAKSA [The Emergence of Independent Finland and Germany]. By *Yrjö Nurmio*. (Helsinki: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö. 1957. Pp. 376.)

PROFESSOR Nurmio, the director of the Finnish State Archives, explores the important question of Germany's role in the crucial period in 1918 when Finland's independence, declared in December, 1917, became fully achieved. His sources consist in large degree of the microfilmed copies of the documents of the *Auswärtiges Amt* dealing with Finland and related matters for 1917–1919, now avail-

able in England. He has also made use of the memoir and monographic literature dealing with these years. The result is an admirably organized and clearly and persuasively presented survey that impresses this reviewer as fully measuring up to the most exacting standards of historical scholarship.

Nurmio's narrative of the part Germany played in the Finnish war of independence and during the months that followed gives a particularly revealing picture of the German view of the problem of Finland. The varying and at times contradictory purposes and objectives of the *Oberste Heeresleitung* on the one hand and the foreign policy makers on the other are brought out in sharp relief. The same applies to the other aspects of the story: Mannerheim's opposition to German armed aid in the war against the Reds and the Russian troops in Finland and his insistence that Von der Goltz's forces be placed under his (Mannerheim's) command; the German endeavors to insinuate Mannerheim into a pro-German position and affiliation after the end of the war in May, 1918; the background and nature of the influence that Germany exerted, especially in the organization of the Finnish army, during the summer; and the fascinating problem of the candidacy of Prince Karl Friedrich of Hesse as future king of Finland. In this connection, the author brings out with commendable clarity that monarchist sentiment was by no means sustained, at the time, by mere preference for a king as the head of the state. It was supported also by considerations of security, the idea being that a German prince on the Finnish throne would mean a Germany ready to assist Finland in the event of future Russian attempts to destroy the country's independence. Germany's defeat pricked the monarchist balloon for good, and Mannerheim was again called upon to serve his nation, this time as temporary chief executive. It was during his tenure of office that the new constitution was adopted. Upon its promulgation on July 17, 1919, Finland became fully the republic which the declaration of independence had proclaimed on December 6, 1917.

Columbia University

JOHN H. WUORINEN

JACOB BURCKHARDT: EINE BIOGRAPHIE. Band III, DIE ZEIT DER KLASSISCHEN WERKE. By *Werner Kaegi*. (Basel: Benno Schwabe & Co. 1956. Pp. xxiv, 769. 36.00 fr.S.)

In this third volume of his monumental biography, Professor Kaegi deals with "the time of the classical works" of Burckhardt, the years from 1846 to 1860, which saw the appearance of *The Age of Constantine*, *The Cicerone*, and *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*. Although for a long time Burckhardt's fame rested primarily on these three books, which were the only major works published during his lifetime, Kaegi maintains that their author, "der mittlere," in contrast to the young or the old Burckhardt, "has remained unknown in the biographical sense." In his opinion this middle period in Burckhardt's life (from the

age of twenty-eight to forty-two), even more than any other, demands a detailed biographical treatment. For in contrast to Ranke, who presented his lifework in half a hundred volumes, Burckhardt left mere "erratic blocs whose coherence of thought is revealed only by the literary remains." Among the particularly important literary remains (which are now preserved in the Burckhardt-Archives in Basel) are the elaborate notes Burckhardt made for all the various lecture courses he gave in Basel (1848-1855, 1858-1860) and in Zürich (1855-1858). Through Kaegi's amply documented analysis of this material—including, for example, lecture notes on the times of the ancient Orient, the Counter-Reformation, and the age of Frederick the Great—we obtain for the first time concrete evidence for the universality of Burckhardt's knowledge and substantial insight into his views concerning the course of history. These notes also clarify greatly the place which the few published books hold within the total development of Burckhardt's thought. Thus, for instance, Kaegi shows how *The Age of Constantine*, which to former scholars seemed to stand "in a strange isolation," was in fact "the ripe and luminous fruit" of his long-felt concern with and intense study of late pagan antiquity and early Christianity and was developed from the lectures which he gave on the Roman Empire in 1848-1849 and 1851-1852.

The very core of this third volume of the biography is found in the discussion of the question "how the great themes of [Burckhardt's] life—reverence for the traditions rooted in the Middle Ages and dedication to the Renaissance—how his German and Italian experiences, were co-ordinated in his general view of history." At the beginning of the middle period stands Burckhardt's "first important work," his thoroughly revised edition of Franz Kugler's *Geschichte der Malerei* (1847), which he wrote as "a medievalist who came from the school of both Ranke and Kugler." Kaegi shows how in this work, as well as in later ones, Burckhardt proved himself as a disciple who was able "to put his own stamp upon and create anew Ranke's legacy." On the basis of a detailed examination of the notes for lectures which Burckhardt held on the High Middle Ages in 1849 and on the Late Middle Ages in 1850, Kaegi demonstrates that "Burckhardt's concern with the Middle Ages was much more continuous and more intimately connected with his interest in the Renaissance than has hitherto been generally assumed." Extensive as the excerpts quoted are, "they underscore," as Professor F. M. Wassermann said in his review of the second volume of this biography (*AHR*, LVII [January, 1952], 392-94), "the desirability of a complete publication of all [of Burckhardt's] notes on this period so dear to him." For these notes on medieval history help greatly in understanding the complexities of the process of thought by which Burckhardt came to his final concept of the Renaissance.

Using a phrase coined by J. Huizinga, Kaegi finds that as early as his revision of Kugler's handbooks Burckhardt acted as "an extractor of the roots of the Renaissance." The next stage in the development of that concept is represented, of course, by *The Cicerone* (1855). But even at that late date, "the possibility was

not so far removed, as some of his critics and admirers have believed, that Burckhardt would conceive of the Renaissance as a 'Waning of the Middle Ages.' The ultimate phase began only in 1856-1857 when Burckhardt prepared outlines and notes for a course on the Renaissance, which offer "the first draft of *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*."

Kaegi has admirably succeeded in his "attempt to reconstruct that coherence of [Burckhardt's] thought on which the three main works published during his lifetime are based." But this biography is well characterized by the author's own words on Burckhardt's *Civilization*: "In his pleasure derived from such a comprehensive thesis the reader ought not to forget that the work, taken as a whole, does not represent a *livre à thèse* but gives a picture (*Bild*) in which many threads are interwoven." There are indeed many threads interwoven in this Burckhardt biography, which not only deals with the thinker and scholar but describes the whole man and the various milieus in which he lived, whether Berlin or Rome, Zürich or Basel. Throughout his life Burckhardt took a deep interest in all the political affairs of his times. But it was during that middle period of his life that he renounced any ambition he might have had earlier to lead a *vita activa*. In a letter of August, 1848, Burckhardt professes to have become devoted to the *vita contemplativa*: "Ich will schauen und suche das Harmonische." Kaegi warns emphatically against the frequent assumption that this attitude signified "an escape into the past, an escape into the beautiful image of a poetically conceived classical world." He says of his fellow citizen of Basel: "Burckhardt was not merely a humanist but—what is more—he was a true citizen of his *polis*."

Cornell University

THEODOR E. MOMMSEN

DIE REVOLUTION IN DER POLITIK BISMARCKS. By *Gustav Adolf Rein*. (Göttingen: Musterschmidt Verlag. 1957. Pp. 360. DM 24.)

In the opening chapter of this book the author makes clear that he is a Protestant conservative. In the final chapter he concludes that Bismarck was too. In between, however, he relates lucidly and with a wealth of fresh detail culled largely from documentary sources how far Bismarck strayed from this position, how devious and perplexing his course was as he fraternized now with the reactionaries, now with nationalists, liberals, democrats, socialists, and any other group useful to his purposes. At times, indeed, Bismarck's embrace of revolutionary projects—his collaboration with Ferdinand Lassalle, his offer of a democratic national parliament in 1866, his obliteration of half a dozen legitimate thrones, and the cause of national unification—seemed so ardent that even the author raises the question how far can one depart from a position and still be said to hold it. An entire chapter (iv), which skillfully disentangles ideological factors from those of sheer *Staatsraison*, quotes innumerable Bismarckian protests of his conservatism but comes to no firm conclusion as to whether the *Reichsgründung*

was a "conservative deed" or a "revolutionary act." Bismarck had no peer (except Metternich) in using slogans and ideology to work on the fears and ambitions of others. The author convincingly concludes that his was a "policy without ideology," that he was a man of action, proceeding intuitively, not reflectively.

The problem is how to deal systematically and rationally with such a man. Here the author has had his difficulties. First of all, Bismarck's utterances usually had ulterior purposes, which could be clarified in context only in a study that included more conventional diplomatic and political history. It is doubtful, for example, that Bismarck's warnings about revolution after 1879, which Rein is inclined to take at face value, were anything but devices for coaxing the tsar away from France and Pan-Slavism. Secondly, the author defines revolution so broadly as to include almost all change that has occurred since the eighteenth century, in the European state system as well as in the social order and even extending to ultramontanism. Significantly he speaks of *the* Revolution, thus making it a continuing process, which he does not hesitate to label "destructive," "levelling," "negative," etc. Measured by this stern and multiform criterion—the standard of a Haller or a Von Gerlach—one could hardly act at all in the modern world without committing revolution in one way or another.

It is therefore logically consistent to forgive Bismarck his little flirtations with *the* Revolution and to accept him as a conservative at heart even if the point is not completely proved. This approach, moreover, yields many rich insights (for example, a penetrating account of the role of the national-parliament proposal in Bismarck's maneuvering in 1866) and spares us many a liberal cliché about the Reich as a clever façade protecting a reactionary conspiracy. In exchange for a stimulating analysis of constitutionalism as a middle ground between authoritarianism and genuine parliamentary rule, we can well forgive an overgenerous interpretation of Bismarck's policy toward France from 1866 to 1870 and the absence of a detailed bibliography.

University of Kentucky

ENNO E. KRAEHE

GESCHICHTE DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK. Band II, VON DER KONFERENZ VON LOCARNO BIS ZU HITLERS MACHTÜBERNAHME. By *Erich Eyck*. (Erlenbach-Zürich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag, 1956. Pp. 621.)

THE short but incalculably important interval of German history that separates the Locarno negotiations from the advent of Hitler has often been recounted. In this valedictory volume of his work on the Weimar Republic, Eyck narrates it once again. He adds little to what we already know, although he has obviously utilized a plethora of material, much of it relatively new. He leans very heavily on a few chosen sources because they relate to those phases and features of the story that he particularly wishes to elaborate. His attention is riveted on foreign policy, where he is manifestly at his best. He not only describes the successive interchanges

and negotiations with admirable thoroughness, accuracy, and perspicacity; he also adds depth to his account by closely concatenating these developments with the bitter and continuous internal strife that preceded, accompanied, and followed them.

Eyck's second unremitting interest centers in the men who loomed large in the German political arena during one part or another of the period under survey. He is drawn toward Stresemann, and the picture he paints of the great statesman is truly unforgettable. Its impact on the reader is enhanced by the narration of incidents small in themselves but replete with human interest. With insight, delicacy, and even tenderness the author probes Stresemann's state of mind. With an austere and unwavering fairness he analyzes and appraises the goals that Stresemann set himself. The ordeals endured by the architect of Locarno and the sum total of his achievements in his dealings with both Russia and the West are portrayed with a full realization of the limitations as well as the praiseworthiness of what he was attempting. Mindful of the controversy that has raged over the question of Stresemann's sincerity in connection with his efforts on behalf of international understanding, Eyck correctly depicts him as a man who could grow and did, who succeeded, despite his jingo antecedents, in raising himself above a narrowly national point of view, but who remained all the while an indefatigable worker for the greatness of Germany.

Bruening is likewise handled with a compound of perceptivity, mellowness, and fairness. Although his methods do not go unchallenged, his ultimate aims are treated with the sympathy they deserve from a man of Eyck's democratic outlook. For some of the other principal *dramatis personae* the author does not conceal his aversion. He pinpoints with acid precision the disservice done the republic by Seeckt and Hindenburg. But far more devastating is his well-documented portrayal of the machinations of Hitler, Hugenberg, Schleicher, and Papen. In the case of Schleicher, however, the picture is not entirely black, and this Eyck is quick to point out. Thus he emphasizes that the general, during his very brief chancellorship, envisioned a program that made some amends for his previous malefactions.

The author's preoccupation with foreign policy and with the leading personalities of the period explains his failure to do justice to other aspects of this agonizingly sad story. The chief casualty is the economic factor. Eyck is not blind to its importance, yet nowhere in his narrative does it receive the attention it deserves. There can be little doubt that the most inadequate sections of the book are those that deal with the nature and impact of the great depression.

University of Chicago

S. WILLIAM HALPERIN

VIE ÉCONOMIQUE ET SOCIALE DE ROME DANS LA SECONDE MOITIÉ DU XVI^e SIÈCLE. Tome I. By *Jean Delumeau*. [Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Fascicule 184.] (Paris: E. de Boccard, Éditeur. 1957. Pp. 517.)

THE second half of the sixteenth century in Italy has never had a great attraction for historians. Politically the centuries following the treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis were those in which French and Spanish parties were counterweights in such Italian states as were not actual dependencies of Spain. Culturally the progress of Italian science apparently did not make up for the passing to France of leadership in fields in which Italy had long been supreme. For Italians 1559 began the three-hundred-year subjection to foreigners during which few voices were raised against the tendency to dwell on past glories. As for the papacy, popes who concentrated on the administration of Rome played less dramatic roles than those played by the employers of Raphael and Michelangelo. Even Pastor, who makes clear that in a divided Christendom the popes of this period exercised widely their spiritual functions, has relatively little to say of their activities at home. Emmanuel Pierre Rodocanachi is the best known of those whose works in the aggregate give a picture comparable to this remarkable one by Delumeau. Collison-Morley gives a chapter to Rome in his *Italy after the Renaissance*; Croce defends the Seicento in the introduction to his *Storia dell'Età Barocca in Italia*.

Delumeau's book is the first volume of what might be called a guide to Rome in the years 1560-1605, that is, from the beginning of the pontificate of Pius IV, a Medici from Milan, to the death of Clement VIII, whose immediate successor was a Medici from Florence. The author, though he is not concerned with the popes in aught but their relations to the city of Rome (the Gregorian calendar, the Cenci case, and the burning of Bruno do not figure here), identifies these dates with the treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis and the abjuration of Henry IV, but the death of Clement VIII is to him primarily the triumph of the Counter-Reformation. Not all of his theme is developed in this volume. The second volume deals with financial problems. Bibliography and index are not included here and must be gathered from an attentive examination of text and footnotes. From such a perusal it is evident that the author has missed little or nothing on particular aspects of sixteenth-century Rome; the reader will appreciate this thoroughness because there has not been till now any *étude d'ensemble* on the subject.

The principal manuscript source, or at any rate the one which seems never to fail, whatever be the occasional auxiliaries, is a collection of newspapers. The author hastens to meet possible challenge to his use of the word *avvisi* in this sense, for these are the newsletters, mostly to the former dukes of Urbino, which were brought to Rome from their archives when the little duchy lost its autonomy in 1631. The newsletters are digests, made by the dukes' diplomatic agents at Rome, of items gathered from professional journalists (*menanti* or *novellanti*).

Some of them are from the Venetian correspondent of the Fugger, the variety of whose listening-posts is apparent to readers of *The Fugger News Letters*. Delumeau, who remarks that documentation for the second half of the century is more abundant than for the first half, draws upon much manuscript material for his statistical tables, and he finds many curious illustrations, largely from these.

The 517 pages are in two parts, the first dealing with the routes by which news, merchandise, travelers, and immigrants reached Rome, the second with the buildings of Rome, especially as demolished, rebuilt, or replaced by the popes, with the problems of drinking water and control of the Tiber floods, with the workers and the efforts of the government to promote industrialization. The tourist, to cite Montaigne's well-known account of his visit in 1581 (as the author often does) could not have seen much of the ancient splendors of the Eternal City, but he could inform himself in detail about the great program of building, he could watch the excavations, he could mingle with the pilgrims. So can the reader of this book, but he will find it on the whole tough going; he has before him a veritable encyclopedia. The task will be rewarding, however, for the author remembers to summarize now and then and has certainly fulfilled the duty of a pioneer in laying data before the next researcher.

University of Idaho

FREDERIC C. CHURCH

LE RIFORME IN PIEMONTE NELLA PRIMA METÀ DEL SETTECENTO.

Volumes I and II. By *Guido Quazza*. [Collezione Storica del Risorgimento Italiano, Volumes LI and LII, Series III.] (Modena: Società Tipografica Editrice Modenese. 1957. Pp. 233; 242-483. L. 800; L. 800.)

A LITERARY voyage into the uncharted seas of early eighteenth-century Piedmontese history—or the early eighteenth-century history of any other Italian state—requires something more than normal courage of the pilot. Except for the occasional sketch produced by the wandering scholar in search of the politico-military drama or the recent important but isolated penetrations by such as Einaudi, Bulferetti, Gramsci, and Venturi, next to nothing has been done to reconstruct the eighteenth century in Piedmont in all of its facets. Dr. Quazza's inquiry involved a familiarity with the work of the pioneers in Piedmontese history, but the magnitude of the problems required the examination of archival materials hitherto untouched. In this area alone the study is an impressive one.

The two rulers, Victor Amadeus II and Charles Emmanuel III, whose reigns are the subject of the study, have traditionally been labeled despots by most scholars. Others more generous have called them enlightened despots. Enlightened or not, one thing is certain as a result of Quazza's study: these two rulers did implement the reforms that dragged Piedmont out of the Middle Ages and into modern times and this fact remains their claim to fame. At first glance the very fine charts and statistical studies serving to illustrate the nature and degree of the

economic reforms instituted by the two monarchs give the impression of a reform program on a grand scale. Upon closer examination it is discovered that the reforms are really only partial measures and often not very fundamental. As cases in point, in the areas of the financial structure of the state and agriculture, the decrees served only to weaken the power of an archaic and decaying nobility, to bind the bourgeoisie more closely to the crown, to destroy an already decadent medieval economic system, to offer some slight benefits to the middle class, and, above all, to further strengthen the powers of the crown in what was already a highly centralized absolute monarchy.

The crown did concern itself with industrialization and market development in order to improve the competitive position of Piedmontese enterprise as well as to resolve the problem of increasing unemployment in the provinces and underemployment in both provinces and cities. In these areas the reforms introduced did indicate the transformation from medievalism to modernism in Piedmont. One cannot, however, escape the feeling that the reforms were instituted in what was a series of fits of absence of mind.

The military remained outside the realm of reform, and the officers continued to study Vauban on fortress construction and to march and countermarch their commands about the countryside. One change did appear, however. In the eighteenth century a bourgeois occasionally penetrated the officer caste that had heretofore been the special preserve of the nobility. Reform in any degree in the areas of religion, education, and what might be broadly construed as culture was out of the question. Although the state continued its struggle with Rome over problems of jurisdiction, both rulers insisted on rigid orthodoxy in matters of faith. This is marked most clearly by the increasingly rigid enforcement of the laws governing the activities of the Waldensians and the Jews. In education, despite the work of the innovators brought to Turin from elsewhere in Italy, nothing new was permitted. The universities remained tightly bound by the traditions of earlier centuries despite the attempts of enlightened professors to liberate the institutions.

In the areas where technical change and financial and administrative reform were vital for the survival of the state, Victor Amadeus II and Charles Emmanuel III permitted, nay, often conceived and instituted the changes—always, of course, in a manner designed not to interfere with the prerogatives of the crown. In all other areas, including education, religion, social reform, and jurisprudence, the most intransigent kind of orthodoxy remained the order of the day. In general, one must agree with the conclusions offered by Quazza that the two eighteenth-century monarchs were modernizers but hardly enlightened modernizers.

Unfortunately the students of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Italian and European problems who will have to consult these two volumes will find that they have to do battle with a prose that is turgid, confusing, and too often, most regrettably, downright difficult to comprehend.

University of Mississippi

GEORGE A. CARBONE

RUSSIAN THOUGHT AND POLITICS. Edited by *Hugh McLean, Martin E. Malia, and George Fischer*. [Harvard Slavic Studies, Volume IV.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. xi, 513. \$7.50.)

THIS collection of twenty-six essays is dedicated by his students to Professor Michael Karpovich, whose long career as a teacher, scholar, and inspirer of Russian studies at Harvard University is portrayed in a valuable introduction by Philip E. Mosely. The volume is divided into three almost equal parts: the first deals with the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the second with the late nineteenth, and the third with the twentieth century. The topics include essentially literary essays on Leskov, Turgenev, and Lazhechnikov; primarily political subjects such as Russian imperialism in Persia and the Sovietization of Uzbekistan; and treatments of national character, bureaucracy, and censorship. The tone of the volume is set by the majority of the essays, which deal with aspects of Russian thought. There are discussions of the Decembrists in exile; of the influence of Schiller; of the views of Karamzin, Radishchev, Pogodin, Pisarev, Miliutin, Mikhailovsky, Miliukov, Kerensky, Wrangel, and Lenin; and of the programs of the Legal Populists, the Liberals, and the Socialist Revolutionaries.

This symposium, like the recent *Continuity and Change in Russian and Soviet Thought*, edited by Ernest J. Simmons (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), reflects the wide range and rich variety of the American interest in Russian intellectual history. This interest is very largely a postwar phenomenon, and it represents one of the major trends in American graduate training and research in the field of Russian history. This is not difficult to understand. Russian intellectual history is particularly suited to graduate seminars and dissertations because of the relative availability of source materials in the United States. There is no similar body of sources in this country on political or economic history. Both the tsarist and the Soviet regimes, the latter on a somewhat more selective basis, have sponsored or at least permitted the editing and publishing of the collected works of Russian writers. In addition, the principal libraries specializing in Russian studies have assembled good collections of political and literary periodicals.

There is perhaps no better way for a beginner to gain an appreciation of Russia's language and history than by exploring the writings of the novelists, poets, critics, revolutionaries, and statesmen who have set the tone and style of Russian public life. Such an exploration is all the more intriguing because of the many insights of the Russian intellectual leaders regarding modern society. Deprived to a very considerable extent of the possibility of effective political action, except for the brief period from the 1890's to 1917, many Russian leaders poured their energies into a literature that was deeply political in character. Likewise, in the writings of the Soviet leaders after 1917, if they are read with discretion, one can find serious discussions of fundamental political issues. The essays in this volume contain many examples of the rewards and problems of this field of study.

It is perhaps natural that work in this field has been restricted very largely to the opponents of the government. They are the ones who wrote the most and, on the whole, the best. Yet during the last decades of the empire the state played a vital role in the transformation of Russian society, and the officials and thinkers who inspired these changes have been seriously neglected. The discussion of ideas always runs the danger of becoming isolated from history, and one frequently learns more about what writers have said than of the goals toward which they were working or the frame of reference of their thought. Greater attention to the ideas that led more or less directly to state policy would serve to round out our knowledge of Russian thought and to maintain the vital relationship between thought and history.

Princeton University

C. E. BLACK

- THE LAST YEARS OF THE GEORGIAN MONARCHY, 1658-1832. By *David Marshall Lang*. [Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1957. Pp. xvi, 333. \$5.50.)
- THE FOUNDING AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE GEORGIAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC [in Russian, English summary]. By *G. Uratadze*. [Study and Sources Series 1, Number 29.] (Munich: Institute for the Study of the USSR. 1956. Pp. 118.)

GEORGIANS are one of the most gifted, intelligent, and indomitable of all peoples in the Caucasus. Throughout the course of their long history these few million sturdy Georgians banded together in their rich and romantic land and were successful in safeguarding their national independence, or quasi independence, until the annexation of their country to Russia in 1801. Thenceforth they fought the Russian autocracy. Finally, toward the end of the First World War they regained their independence, only to lose it again in 1921 to communist Russia. The authors of these two books—Lang a lecturer in the School of Oriental and African Studies at London University, Uratadze a veteran Georgian journalist and politician—survey two clearly defined periods in Georgian history. Mr. Uratadze limits himself to the period 1917-1921, while Mr. Lang narrates the political, social, and intellectual history of a much longer period in a scholarly and readable work, thus offering perhaps the best account of a segment of Georgian history available in any language.

Lang is primarily concerned with Georgian history “on the eve of the Russian annexation in 1801.” Since the last years of the monarchy include the reigns of the two dynasties of the Mukhranian Bagratids, reaching back to mid-seventeenth century, the detailed narrative from 1658 to the late eighteenth century is included as a long and valuable prologue (pp. 3-225). The story of the first three decades of Russian rule is also added “in order to describe the earlier effects of tsarist domination.” In all this intricate maze of events, the author moves with effortless

ease, showing remarkable familiarity with his extremely involved story. In its golden age under Queen T'amara (1184-1213) the Georgian kingdom was one sprawling hotchpotch, encompassing nearly all of Transcaucasia. It was difficult enough for the rulers to govern their heady and individualistic countrymen, but when to these were added obstreperous mountain tribes of the north and equally unruly peoples on the south, the task became unmanageable. Still, in the face of disastrous incursions of Mongol hordes, exorbitant exactions of Persian rulers, the ravages of Tamerlane, and the Ottoman-Persian invasions down to the end of the eighteenth century, Georgians remained the only nationality group in the region possessing a modicum of semiindependent status until they were brought under the hegemony of Russia. The book contains a chronological table of the last kings of Georgia, a very useful bibliography, and a good index.

Uratadze's monograph contains a sketch of the rise and fall of the Georgian Republic, with brief resumé in English, French, and German. He adds considerably to the usefulness of his work by including valuable extracts from the proceedings of the Transcaucasian Federation's Assembly (Seym) before the break-up of the federation into its constituent parts—the short-lived Georgian, Armenian, and Azerbaijanian republics—late in May, 1918.

Library of Congress

A. O. SARKISSIAN

MICHAEL SPERANSKY: STATESMAN OF IMPERIAL RUSSIA, 1772-1839. By *Marc Raeff*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1957. Pp. viii, 387. Guilders 27.50.)

THIS scholarly monograph is a welcome addition to the slowly growing biographical literature in Russian history. Of the twelve chapters that describe the life of Speransky nine deal with his flowering years during the Alexander I period. Two chapters include discussions concerning Speransky's political and philosophical views and his contribution to Siberian administration. The last three chapters describe the declining years of his service during the less happy reign of Nicholas I. The concluding chapter includes an excellent summary of Speransky the man and statesman.

Despite the subtitle of this book, the impression the reader gathers is that of a bureaucrat rather than a statesman of imperial Russia. This is regrettable since on favorable occasions Speransky demonstrated extraordinary qualities of statesmanship and great courage. An example was his well-known constitutional project and memorandum concerning the state of affairs in Russia at the turn of the nineteenth century. It called for imaginative daring to state at that time that in Russia "public opinion is in entire contradiction with the form of government" and that "no partial reform is possible, because no law can exist, if it may any day be overthrown by a gust of arbitrary power," or to refer to the peasantry as "the most useful part of the population" and to the landed nobility as "a handful of

parasites, who acquired, God knows why and how, all rights and privileges." Speransky deserves greater credit than he is usually given by writers. It is entirely irrelevant that Speransky suggested meeting the problem of serfdom by degrees, by handling the issue of the state peasants first. The fact remains that he was able to foretell a solution to the problem nearly half a century prior to the Emancipation Act.

Professor Raeff correctly, if not charitably, points out that Speransky's chief handicap was that he was always compelled to solve problems within the framework of the stifling bureaucratic atmosphere. There is, however, more indicting evidence. Alexander Turgenev, a contemporary of Speransky and brother of Nicholas the Decembrist, penetratingly stated that Speransky "smothered himself in the moral climate" of his time. Herein perhaps lies the sorry lot of the man. He was fully aware, for instance, of the harsh and undeserved lot meted out to the Decembrists. Yet, as Turgenev succinctly said, Speransky "kept silent when silence was a crime." One feels that at times, particularly in his later years, it was not so much timidity as a sense of futility that prevented Speransky from registering righteous indignation. The duality of Speransky as statesman and bureaucrat may be explained by the fact that he was of humble social origin yet was compelled by circumstances to reinforce a tottering feudal aristocratic order in which he professed little faith.

The points raised here are not meant to disparage Raeff's work. He has succeeded in presenting a lucid, scholarly work based on thorough research. Biographies are none too plentiful in the field of Russian history, and this one fills an important gap—there is nothing comparable even in the Russian language. The study deserves particular mention in view of the recent tendency to overemphasize current history at the expense of a much richer past.

Stanford University

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR

RUSSIAN LIBERALISM: FROM GENTRY TO INTELLIGENTSIA. By *George Fischer*. [Russian Research Center Studies, Number 30.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. ix, 240. \$4.50.)

THE RUSSIAN INTELLIGENTSIA: MAKERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STATE. By *Stuart Ramsay Tompkins*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1957. Pp. xiii, 282. \$5.00.)

LIBERALISM and intelligentsia, in their Russian connotation, are illusive and partly overlapping terms describing significant albeit controversial currents of thought. The former has been much neglected, and thus Dr. Fischer's book deserves a particularly warm welcome. The author defines liberalism as "the peculiar Western individualism. . . . The ends and means of this individualism have emphasized society rather than the individual himself: the ends a society in which the individual is central as well as self-governing; the means institution-

alized liberties like private property and the supremacy of the law." *Russian Liberalism* comprises two main elements: a succinct, factual account of the views and activities of the leading Russian liberals and an attempt to interpret liberalism in sociological terms. The latter theme leads Fischer to introduce unfamiliar, unhelpful, and awkwardly phrased notions—"have-not" liberalism and liberalism of advanced countries, "small deeds" liberalism and liberalism of "senseless dreams." It is the thesis of this study that between the 1860's and 1905, a date beyond which the author does not go, Russian liberalism underwent a transformation "from gentry to intelligentsia." This is a questionable generalization. Prince K. A. Liven, minister of education under Nicholas I, has shrewdly observed that in Russia "the nobility is so heterogeneous as to extend all the way from the steps of the throne to almost the peasantry." This statement is even more true for the period about which Fischer writes than it was for Liven's own time. To put it differently, the opposition of the gentry to the intelligentsia is devoid of substance. With this reservation Fischer has written a useful book that provides in a small space much solid information on the relatively little known Russian liberalism.

Tompkins, too, encounters terminological difficulties although of a different nature. Following Berdyaev, who is not a reliable guide, he defines intelligentsia as "a small minority fanatically devoted to the cause of the revolution" and holds that "there is no doubt that there is no western counterpart to the intelligentsia." This is not the prevalent view. According to Webster intelligentsia means "informed intellectual people collectively; the educated group, class, or party" and according to the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, "the part of the nation that aspires to independent thinking." Fortunately Tompkins does not adhere blindly to his definition; otherwise his occasional references to "revolutionary" intelligentsia would have been redundant. What is more important, his survey covers not only the revolutionary movement but also the liberal opposition and right-wing ideologies, including the apocalyptic vision of Vladimir Solov'ev.

Tompkins deals with the period from the 1860's to 1917. His book is compact and pleasantly written and quotes revealing excerpts from numerous Russian sources. Some of his interpretations display considerable independence. He believes that terrorism "made the Russia of the late nineteenth century stand out from the general tone of European life" and that "the Russian people as a whole are less humane than others." He takes a dim view of the revolutionary movement and in his closing chapter suggests that the intransigence of the intelligentsia was largely responsible for the tragedy that overcame the tsarist empire. These reflections contain an element of truth but call for critical examination. An illustration will have to suffice. Herzen's first reaction to the emancipation of the serfs was one of unqualified enthusiasm. His shift to an attitude of unsparing criticism was due not to revolutionary dogmatism but to the nature of the reform itself, which practically destroyed its usefulness. The case of Herzen was typical, and disillusionment with the reforms was at the root of the growth of the revolution-

ary movement. A more thorough examination of the events leading to the revolution of 1917 than Tompkins could provide in this short book would confirm the view that the blindness, folly, and obstinacy of the imperial government were the primary causes of its undoing.

Columbia University

MICHAEL T. FLORINSKY

THE GREAT SIBERIAN MIGRATION: GOVERNMENT AND PEASANT IN RESETTLEMENT FROM EMANCIPATION TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR. By *Donald W. Treadgold*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1957. Pp. xiii, 278. \$5.00.)

BETWEEN 1801 and 1914 an estimated seven million settlers moved from European Russia to Siberia, 85 per cent during the quarter-century before World War I. A reaffirmation of the Kliuchevskii thesis of the central role of colonization in Russian history, this migration was also a part of the transformation, after the Emancipation Act, from a legally stratified society to one of legal equals and of increasing equality of economic opportunity. This development and the history of Siberia are aspects of Russian history deserving more study than they have heretofore received.

This monograph deals chiefly with the two principal elements of the migration: the peasants or actual migrants and the central government, whose power had to be either satisfied or eluded if migration took place. After an introductory description of the Russian and Siberian settings in which the migration took place, Professor Treadgold traces by periods both state policy and the migration itself. Until the mid-1890's policy moved slowly and grudgingly well behind actual migration, in which the larger number of migrants resettled extralegally. With the building of the Trans-Siberian Railway (1892-1900) a remarkable upswing in the migration occurred, accompanied by a conscientious effort of the state to channel and regularize it and to alleviate its hardships. The movement entered a third phase when Stolypin as prime minister (1906-1911) undertook to solve Russia's perennial agrarian problem by fostering the establishment of individual private ownership of land and the creation of a class of independent peasant-enterprisers, neither capitalistic nor socialistic. In Siberia, free of the remnants of a gentry landholding class and serfdom, Stolypin could expect this development to proceed rapidly. Accordingly, his government, supported by the Third Duma, actively encouraged peasant migration across the Urals, even though he had misgivings about the ultimate impact on the monarchy of the type of democracy he saw emerging there. Meanwhile, irrespective of official policy, migration proceeded in crescendo in response to the prospect of a freer and better life in Siberia, of greater control by the individual over his own destiny.

Treadgold has examined much material and analyzed it with care, insight, and understanding. He delineates his picture more or less clearly, adducing much

detail, though the organization of it sometimes falls short of clarity. If his story has a hero, it is Stolypin, who emerges as an intelligent, realistic statesman who was proceeding to a solution of Russia's major problem along lines consonant at once with peasant aspirations and with contemporary Russian economic and social developments. Many may disagree with this portrayal, though I for one am prepared to concur.

It goes without saying that a short review can furnish only a taste of the author's product. The reader will find other significant subjects not mentioned here. He will also find a few minor faults of writing, but in the aggregate he will discover that this monograph stands up well. That the parts dealing with the migration itself will be superseded is doubtful unless unexpected data turn up. That Treadgold's interpretation of Russian social and economic development at the turn of the century will find every reader nodding in approval is less certain. Nevertheless, his results justify his efforts.

University of California, Los Angeles

RAYMOND H. FISHER

Near Eastern History

ISLAM IN MODERN HISTORY. By *Wilfred Cantwell Smith*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1957. Pp. ix, 317. \$6.00.)

BEFORE the prospective reader enters upon this book he should bear in mind that this is not a political history of Islam in modern times. Rather, it is something that is much rarer and badly needed—a statement and examination of the intellectual and psychological maladjustment that has troubled the Muslim peoples (and those who have been in contact with them) since the nineteenth century as a result of their being thrown into contact with alien and disruptive ideas and cultures. The author has made a notable contribution to the understanding of this problem.

The author provides a historical setting and introduction in a chapter entitled "Islam in History." This is the least satisfactory section of the work, primarily because it does not clearly differentiate (as a Western approach should do) the cultural, social, and political facets of Islam and because it overlooks the western part of the Muslim world. The first shortcoming obscures the fact that while (as the author says) the sixteenth century in some ways marks Islam's greatest era, it also marks the beginning of a period of severe social and cultural decline in the Asiatic provinces of the Ottoman empire and in North Africa. The omission of North Africa tends to throw the total picture of modern Islam out of focus because it leaves out of consideration some of the most significant attempts of Islam to adjust itself to a modern environment (as in Tunisia).

The chapter "Islam in Recent History" introduces the examination of present-

day Islam in the Arab world of the eastern Mediterranean and in Turkey, Pakistan, and India. It gives an excellent résumé of the reformist movements that preceded the full flowering of nationalism in the twentieth century. Yet even here one finds the perpetuation of the oft-repeated but erroneous idea that Arab nationalism arose as a reaction against the pressure of the West; as a result, the role of Islam in creating this nationalism is overstressed. In reality, Arab nationalism arose as a movement of resistance to assimilation by Muslim Turkey and was based in essence on a growing feeling of Arab ethnic consciousness vis-à-vis the Turks and their Turanianism. If this had not been the case, the Arabs hardly would have made allies of the British in their attempt to throw off Turkish rule. The Egyptian nationalist movement, which arose as a reaction against domination by a non-Muslim power, should not be considered in its inception as a part of the Arab nationalist upsurge, nor did the Egyptians themselves consider it to be so.

The chapters on the eastern Arab world, Turkey, Pakistan, and India, do much to illuminate the problems the West faces in trying to reach a stable *modus vivendi* with Muslim national states. The author makes it very clear that the West's problems with these peoples are based not on mere transient political issues but on deep-seated conflicts that go to the very roots of the two cultures. While the West itself has made plenty of mistakes, as he points out, the solution of these problems is not made any easier by the narrow range of meaningful culture relationships between the two parties and by the essentially negativistic, unreal, and particularistic outlook that characterizes most Muslim thinking. Turkish intellectuals, who felt themselves betrayed by their Arab coreligionists and by the caliphate, retaliated by orienting themselves toward the modern political, cultural, and social pattern. The Muslims of India, who must adjust themselves to an environment of religious pluralism in a secular state and who number among them significant heterodox elements, may yet lead the way to a conception of Islam more liberal than that of their Pakistani neighbors. For the Arabs, who originated Islam, who take pride in it as an arabocentric faith, and whose place in history is chiefly identified with it, the readjustment is hardest of all. As the author says, if the Indian or the Turkish Muslims can evolve a Muslim outlook more in tune with modern reality, they will have done a great service in pointing the way for other Muslims to follow. One could legitimately ask, however, whether the feeling of ethnic separateness that increasingly divides the Muslim community as a concomitant of nationalism will not provide a serious barrier to the general acceptance of such reforms.

Arlington, Virginia

H. W. GLIDDEN

Far Eastern History

SSU-MA CH'EN: GRAND HISTORIAN OF CHINA. By *Burton Watson*.
(New York: Columbia University Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 276. \$5.00.)

AN authoritative account in English of China's greatest historian, Ssu-ma Ch'ien (145-90? B.C.), has long been a felt want, and this volume satisfies it in most respects. The *Shih chi* or *Records of a Historian*, composed by Ssu-ma Ch'ien in 130 chapters, became the model for China's major histories of the past twenty centuries. Hitherto our main source for a knowledge of it was the French translation of the first forty-seven chapters, made some sixty years ago by the renowned French scholar, Edouard Chavannes. Though the *Shih chi* itself has no English rendering—except for a few passages—we now possess an excellent and readable analysis of its form and contents, made by a young American scholar who studied at Columbia University and in Japan. Since the *Shih chi* records the history of China and her neighbors from legendary times to 104 B.C. and since it was composed by a perceptive and widely traveled observer who wrote from a personal and not from an official point of view, its importance to scholarship is very great. Watson's careful description of the historian's purposes, his methods, and his place in Chinese culture provides us with a sourcebook not only on the *Shih chi* itself but also on many other aspects of Chinese historiography.

Though a work as ancient as the *Shih chi* is not free from recorded legends, the element of the supernatural and the miraculous is remarkably small, owing to the naturalistic view of the world that the Chinese have normally taken. True, Ssu-ma Ch'ien often wrote with passion, as shown in the lifelike biographies that constitute the last and longest section of the history. But he was not a sentimentalist; he had a respect for his sources and could view the vast panorama of China's history with a clear and fearless gaze. It was his humanity that made him the great historian he was.

In an appendix Watson gives us a dozen or more specimen passages, which he has translated to show the concepts of history and the ideals that guided Ssu-ma Ch'ien in his work. His translations are accurate, but it would be asking much to expect that the vivid overtones of the original could always be captured. The long autobiographical sketch that Ssu-ma Ch'ien appended to his history, and the poignant letter he wrote to a friend after he was tragically and unjustly condemned by the emperor to mutilation, are translated in full. Assigning of exact or even approximate dates to the later Chinese scholars whose names are cited would have been a help to the Western reader.

Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR W. HUMMEL

American History

THE IMAGE OF MAN IN AMERICA. By *Don M. Wolfe*. (Dallas, Texas: Southern Methodist University Press. 1957. Pp. x, 482. \$5.00.)

DON M. Wolfe explores various forms of what might be called the doctrine of man as set forth in the writings of twenty-two Americans, spanning the years from Thomas Jefferson to John Dewey. While a majority of these are men of letters, the survey includes Horace Mann, Henry George, Clarence Darrow, and Abraham Lincoln. Wolfe, an expert on the writings of Milton, clearly did not leave out Jonathan Edwards by inadvertance. His index omits references that one would expect in a work aiming at a complete coverage of the image of man in America—Calvinism, Puritanism, original sin, neo-orthodoxy. Yet the dour picture of the evil human heart that Calvin bequeathed to America is one of the most important images to be found in the historical record.

Wolfe's purpose apparently is not to write balanced history but to present selected historical materials that may be useful in furthering a science. He initiates his survey with Jefferson's call for a "science of man." His purpose explains the absence of discussion of any image of man growing out of theological speculation. In dealing with the thought of his twenty-two selected Americans, Wolfe focuses on their answers to the crucial question: Do the determining factors in the nature of an individual man come from heredity or environment? The parade of social thinkers includes proponents of one or the other of both the alternatives, but the great majority are environmentalists, and the author frankly places himself in that camp. His analysis of this aspect of the thought of his selected individuals is penetrating and valuable. The book brings together for the first time considerable less familiar material.

Interspersed among the chapters dealing with ideas are eleven short pieces that may be called vignettes of history. Two will suggest their nature: "1835: Year of Seedtime and Doubt" and "1924: The Loeb-Leopold Case." These pieces help to give social background and to further the development of the argument.

This book appears in the middle of a century in which the social sciences have made great advances. Presumably these disciplines, in particular those called "behavioral sciences," look upon their efforts as furthering a "science of man." To the work of what has become a small army of investigators in the behavioral sciences what does Wolfe contribute? Near the end of his book he includes four short chapters on selected investigations in psychology, biology, sociology, and anthropology. Among the anthropologists he chooses two who have had a wide reading but whose conclusions, placing extreme importance on environmentalism as the molder of a plastic human nature, have not met with general acceptance within the guild. The chapters suggest that the behavioral sciences have made progress, yet Wolfe affirms: "Americans have not yet produced or even projected a co-ordination of disciplines directed toward the accumulation of certainties about

human nature." One recalls John Wesley Powell, chief protagonist of science at the end of the nineteenth century, whose book, *Truth and Error, or the Science of Intellection* (1898), concluded with no less than four "certitudes."

Wolfe is concerned because the facts of American history, as he reads them, have not produced "geniuses" commensurate with the size of the American population and the promise of American life. He sees the philosophy behind our far-ranging system of public education to be that education can mold plastic human nature to high ends, but he adds: "Despite the fact that universal education has over the years brought many gifted children to the attention of discerning teachers, America's crop of uncommon men has remained scanty. . . . In comparison with Periclean Athens alone, which had a population, including slaves, of only half a million, America has not produced a sculptor comparable to Phidias, a philosopher of the stature of Aristotle, a dramatic poet the equal of Sophocles or Aeschylus. To that inexplicable genius, Abraham Lincoln, Americans have erected a marble tribute not from a glorious new art but from the classic models of ancient Greece." To undertake what may prove to be impossible Wolfe proposes two things—a coordinated investigation in which scholars in the several behavioral sciences would pool their ideas with historians, biographers, and men of letters and the selection of an experimental county in which a board of inquirers (with the aid of funds from a foundation) would manipulate the environment in ways that would be intended to stimulate the production of uncommon men; after a few decades significant information might begin to accumulate. Whatever one may think of Wolfe's proposal for action, his book is another significant evidence of a hopeful ferment in American thought as the twentieth century passes its meridian.

Yale University

RALPH HENRY GABRIEL

THE AMERICAN IDEA OF MISSION: CONCEPTS OF NATIONAL PURPOSE AND DESTINY. By *Edward McNall Burns*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 385. \$9.00.)

AN arresting number of the historical studies now being written are based upon the assumption that history is a moral philosophy rather than an objective science and that its purpose is reform—or, at least, the direction of events in the present—rather than an objective investigation with the purpose, purely and simply, of acquiring accurate knowledge of the past. Many historians appear to have abandoned—if they ever held it—the position that their profession is the scientific craft of finding out what happened and have taken up the position that their true function is that of moralizers, preachers, or reformers—evangelists who must reform and/or save the world by "the lessons of history." This means that the "lessons" are different, of course, for every historian, and there is little or no agreement—how could there be?—as to what they are. It also means that

every generation of historians will have its own peculiar version of the "lessons" and that the "lessons" of history will have validity, if any, only for their contemporaries.

One of the most striking features of this mood among the historians of the "Eisenhower era" is that many of these books, so long as they confine themselves to history, are sound and valuable historical studies. When the historian starts moralizing and formulating plans for reform, on the basis of his history, the historical critic discovers a complete shift of ground from the science of history to moral philosophy. Such is the case with the book before us.

Professor Burns has made, in fact, an impressive study in the history of ideas in the United States—those properly grouped around the central "American Idea of Mission." These ideas include the conviction that America is guided, somehow, by the "Hand of God," that Americans are "the salt of the earth," that America has a peculiar, God-given mission to carry the gospel of "freedom" and "equality" to the ends of the earth, that the United States must use its military might, if necessary, to carry out its mission, and so on. Based upon the writings and sayings of actual men, who are extensively quoted, the book demonstrates and documents the nexus of ideas that contributed to the American concept of national mission throughout the history of the country. That is not to say that it is a profound philosophical study or that it ever gets very far beneath the surface. It is, nevertheless, and in its own way, a genuine success, and it is quite convincing.

It is only in the last chapter (chapter XIII, "The Mission as Ideal and Actuality") that the author lays aside the academic gown of the historical scholar and puts on the cassock of the moralist. Here he lets himself go with such statements as: "The treatment of the American Indian is a standing disgrace," "What it [the American sense of mission] needs most of all is more wisdom and tolerance in carrying it out," and "We must banish discrimination, curb lawlessness, enlarge freedom, provide for real equality of opportunities, reduce disparities of wealth and income, and make a wiser use of our material and intellectual resources."

As history, this is a good and useful book. But historians must learn, as other investigators and scientists have learned, that their discipline must be purged of moralizing if it is to command the intellectual respect of this generation of scholars and maintain a place among the other learned disciplines.

University of Washington

MAX SAVELLE

FOREIGN POLICY AND THE AMERICAN SPIRIT. Essays by *Dexter Perkins*. Edited by *Glyndon G. Van Deusen* and *Richard C. Wade*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1957. Pp. xiii, 254. \$3.75.)

PROFESSOR Dexter Perkins, among his many other accomplishments, is *the* historian, par excellence, of the Monroe Doctrine. As he has steered that bark so skillfully down the main stream of our diplomatic history, he has felt the cross-

currents and measured the flow toward global tides. He has registered some of his larger thoughts in these contributions to reviews and in public lectures, the texts of which are now brought together in what amounts to a memorial volume, edited by two former colleagues at the University of Rochester where Perkins taught for so many years. But no cold print can convey the human gusto enjoyed by the audiences which originally listened to the subjects. If the editors had included a photograph as frontispiece, that would have been a happy idea.

All of the chapters except one pertain to foreign policy. The editors group eleven of the twelve into three brackets: the American approach to foreign policy, revisionism, and popular lectures.

The American approach to foreign policy, believes Perkins, is essentially from a peaceful bent, nonmilitaristic in nature (when have we prepared for war before the emergency was on us?), anti-imperialistic on the whole, tending to rest on large generalizations, characterized too by a fondness for panaceas and structural institutions for peace, and yielding to public opinion and pragmatic action. Four of the foreign wars of the United States have been intimately connected with events in Europe stemming from hostilities on the other side of the Atlantic. And still the favorite doctrine of the Americans is that good will and reason, not force, offer the true solvent of international difficulties.

As to revisionism, Perkins notes the curious tendency of his countrymen, after going to war and winning a war, to be sorry they did. If Perkins is not a revisionist in the accepted sense of the word, he does find reason to believe that candid examination of revisionist doctrine is of the essence of historical criticisms. At the same time he believes that it is without much profit to argue hypocritically *ex post facto* in terms of what might have been. I wonder. To take an instance from a species of revisionism which he does not touch in these essays on foreign policy: suppose the South had won its war for independence. Would the revisionists of the Civil War be contending that war never settles anything?

Last of the twelve chapters is the inspiring presidential address to the American Historical Association in 1956, printed in the January, 1957, number of this review, "We Shall Gladly Teach." One welcomes its reprinting in this pleasant and urbane volume. May Professor Perkins continue gladly to teach that we may gladly learn!

Yale University

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS

THE EMERGENCE OF LIBERAL CATHOLICISM IN AMERICA. By Robert D. Cross. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. ix, 328. \$5.50.)

HERE, incisively and cogently told, is the eventful story of the Catholic Church's coming of age in America. Some of the specific issues dealt with have been treated before, but Mr. Cross is the first to present a thorough analysis of the social and intellectual ramifications of liberal Catholicism as it affected both

America and Europe. His most valuable contribution lies in the perceptive way he relates the question of "Americanism" to the manifold crisis posed by the effects of increasing nationalism, secularism, and industrialism on the traditional tenets and practices of the Roman Catholic Church in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Cross offers no doctrinaire definition of liberalism.

Although he is interested in those specific problems peculiar to the Church's situation in America, such as the Cahensly memorial, the Knights of Labor, the public schools, Henry George, Catholic University, and the apostolic delegate, his primary concern is with more fundamental issues. The essential difference between the liberals (e.g., Hecker, Gibbons, Ireland, Spalding, McGlynn, and Keane) and the conservatives (e.g., McQuaid, Corrigan, Preston, Gilmour, Chatard, and Walburg) lay in their approach to the age-old problem of all churches: how to sustain a theological and ecclesiastical system based upon the eternal absolutes of revealed religion within the system of relative values embodied in temporal cultures. The liberals were, and still are, Cross argues, those who optimistically assume that the two systems can be reconciled. The conservatives pessimistically deny this. The liberal goes out to meet the world with apologetics, hoping to strengthen the church and to convert those outside it by seeking a common meeting ground with the culture. The conservative holds aloof, or engages in polemics, in the belief that all attempts at *rapprochement* inevitably tend to weaken the church and to compromise the faith. Nineteenth-century Catholic liberals saw their self-appointed role as that of "restoring harmony between Catholicism and culture," or, put another way, they were interested in "Catholicizing secular culture." This definition of liberalism helps to explain why Gibbons was an admirer of Carnegie's "Gospel of Wealth" and why Ireland was an ardent supporter of McKinley. They were liberals because they were in harmony with the prevailing temper of American life, not because they were at war with it. And this was their undoing.

With great skill and clarity, Cross demonstrates why the liberal movement, though by no means limited to the United States, acquired the label "Americanism" in opprobrium. He scrupulously points out the strengths and weaknesses on both sides but concludes in favor of the liberals. His final chapter is a revealing and provocative commentary on the legacy of liberalism in the twentieth century. It deserves a wider audience than the price of the book is likely to permit. This is one of those rewarding works of scholarship that provide not only depth but scope to the portrayal of history and shed light on the problems of the present as well as on those of the past.

Brown University

WILLIAM G. McLOUGHLIN, JR.

A HISTORY OF THE DOLLAR. By *Arthur Nussbaum*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1957. Pp. viii, 308. \$4.50.)

THIS agreeably brief book deals mostly with the coined or paper dollar of the

numismatist and the legal dollar of the lawyer. It might better have dealt with these alone, for its asides on general history and economics too often weaken its authority.

Thus Dr. Nussbaum says that Hamilton favored the monied class partly because he considered "wealth a partial substitute for aristocracy, an attitude which was to prove disastrous for him." The statement scarcely suggests what Hamilton really thought and leaves to the fancy what the disaster was that supposedly arose therefrom. Nussbaum has the government subscribe to the capital of the United States Bank "more for speculative than for political reasons" but offers no support for so extraordinary a statement. He calls the issuance of the second Bank's branch drafts an "obvious circumvention of the law," though according to professional opinion and federal court decision it was unqualifiedly legal. He says that "hard money, as sponsored by Jackson, became an important plank in the program" of the Democrats, but he omits to mention Thomas Jefferson's responsibility for the doctrine, which Jackson professed indeed but hindered more than he helped. He says that in this country checks were first used "probably during the 1830's in the large cities." In fact, they were used as soon as there were banks, and the evidence of their common and important use before 1800, as after, is clear, particularly in the writings of Pelatiah Webster, Thomas Paine, and Alexander Hamilton. He surmises that greenbacks were retained by New Deal legislation because of "sentimental desire on the part of the government to preserve the notes of the Civil War," whereas they were retained at the notorious demand of inflationists.

Such generalizations, which are frequent, illustrate the difficulty of writing popularly about something that is not simple and has the divers meanings the word "dollar" has. Yet they do not keep Nussbaum from being informative about the dollar of the statutes and the coin or paper dollar carried in the pocket. The final paragraph shows his cheerful view of the dollar's evolution: "Looking back at the domestic and international history of the dollar, one is confronted with a story whose dramatic course has been ever ascendant. The many obstacles and setbacks on the way certainly reveal weaknesses, but they were finally overcome, and the basic trend upwards justifies confidence for the future."

Thetford, Vermont

BRAY HAMMOND

THE FRENCH IN NORTH AMERICA: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GUIDE TO FRENCH ARCHIVES, REPRODUCTIONS, AND RESEARCH MISSIONS. By *Henry Putney Beers*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1957. Pp. xi, 413. \$12.50.)

EVER since 1828, when Jared Sparks began his investigations in the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, the masses of manuscript records stored in French archives, libraries, and other collections, with their wealth of material on

the colonial and diplomatic history of the United States and Canada, have presented to American historians a formidable challenge. The chief problems, from Sparks's day to the present, have been to sort out from the overwhelming and scattered total a calendar of the pertinent documents and to make accurate transcripts or reproductions available on this side of the Atlantic.

Dr. Beers's thorough, scholarly, and readable study recounts the efforts of American (and, in less detail, of Canadian) historians to solve these two problems. It does much more, however, for it also offers a welcome panorama of the whole complex of French manuscript collections and provides an authoritative and up-to-date discussion of existing guides, inventories, calendars, transcripts, reproductions, and publications. Beers also points the way to what is still to be done. The historian, archivist, or librarian, even if already experienced in this area, will find much that is enlightening, and for the less expert student this volume provides an invaluable point of bibliographical departure.

A historical introduction on the organization and development of the principal French depositories furnishes the background information essential for an efficient use of these resources. In the course of his accounts of the many research projects, from 1828 to the present, concerned with American diplomatic history and the French regime in North America, Beers identifies and locates all the known collections of transcripts and photographic reproductions in the United States and Canada; one of the most useful features of this study is the critical evaluation of the reliability of these various collections. Two chapters describe in detail the history of the Carnegie Institution's project, the *Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris*, and the monumental achievement of the Library of Congress in assembling reproductions of these materials. The extensive bibliography, listing all the sources utilized in this study, is not as convenient as it might be for reference purposes, but the section "Inventories, Guides, Calendars, etc." contains practically all the bibliographical aids necessary for anyone working on material from the French manuscript collections.

The concluding chapter is perhaps the most stimulating. Here Beers surveys the French manuscript collections less familiar to American scholars and points out the relatively unexploited areas for research that exist in municipal and departmental archives, in the records of naval districts, in the papers of chambers of commerce, and in many other such depositories. As he rightly stresses, the task of investigating and reproducing documents relating to French-American commercial relations is still seriously incomplete, and much remains to be done in the examination of business records and private collections.

Brown University

DURAND ECHEVERRIA

MAPPING THE TRANSMISSISSIPPI WEST, 1540-1861. Volume I, THE SPANISH *ENTRADA* TO THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE, 1540-1804. By *Carl I. Wheat*. (San Francisco, Calif.: Institute of Historical Cartography. 1957. Pp. xiii, 264. \$60.00.)

"FOR as Geography without History seemeth a carkasse without motion; so History without Geography wandreth as a Vagrant without a certaine Habitation." This quotation from Captain John Smith, which serves as an introduction to the first section of Mr. Wheat's bibliography, is a truth that has all too often been neglected by historians. It is not only that those who have written on the history of the exploration of such areas as the trans-Mississippi West have far too frequently been content to assume an adequate geographical knowledge on the part of their audience. Their own researches, which have utilized every contemporary printed account and every diary, letter, or scrap of manuscript relating to their subject, have often ignored completely the value of maps as sources. But, as Wheat points out: "Only from the maps that reflect hard journeys and hazardous exploits over these many years may one adequately grasp the impressive story. . . . With all their faults . . . they better than any other documents illustrate the story of developing thought and understanding and vividly reflect the advance and unfoldment of knowledge in respect of this enormous and majestic region."

Wheat's aim is to trace the development and expansion of knowledge of the trans-Mississippi West from the earliest Spanish chart down to the time, in the early 1860's, when there were no major areas of this region left unmapped. His field is not only one of great importance to the student of American history but also one of great difficulty. The sheer size and geographical complexity of the area involved are tremendous, including as it does vast mountain ranges, deserts, and the watersheds of at least half a dozen major river systems. Moreover, in the more than three centuries covered by this study, explorers from four different nations were penetrating the area from different directions, often contemporaneously. The number of maps on which their findings appear runs into the thousands.

The present volume, the first of a projected series of five, covers the period from Coronado's now vanished chart of his route to Tiguex down to the Louisiana Purchase. The work is divided into two parts—an extended narrative and a bibliocartography. The frequently overlapping efforts of Spanish, French, and English explorers make a strictly chronological treatment impossible. Wheat therefore deals first with the Spanish explorations from Coronado to Oñate and the maps displaying the results of their first penetration of the region from the south. There follows a chapter on the European maps of the seventeenth century, more remarkable for such imaginary geography as the "island" of California and the Sea of the West than for any real contributions to knowledge. In turn, French exploration from the east, Spanish mapping from Kino to Humboldt, the curious aberrations of commercial mapmakers in the last half of the eighteenth century,

and Spanish exploration of the Missouri are discussed. The last chapter treats of explorations by the fur traders of the Hudson's Bay and Northwest companies.

In all, some 262 maps are discussed in the narrative, and these are listed chronologically, with full bibliographical detail, in the bibliocartography which makes up the second portion of the work. Although there is no census of copies, at least one location is given for each map listed. Facsimilies of fifty maps are included with the text.

To say that this work fills a gap would be an understatement. Save for the author's preliminary study, *Mapping the American West* (Worcester, Mass., 1954), there is no other work in the field. There are to be sure catalogues of maps and atlases, and some maps are discussed in such bibliographies as the Wagner-Camp *The Plains and the Rockies*. The only comparable work is Henry R. Wagner's *Cartography of the North-West Coast*, which deals with only a small sector of the West. It is worthwhile to note that although his death last year brought to an end Wagner's long and productive career, his influence happily continues to be felt, for T. W. Streeter's monumental Texas bibliography and the present work both owe their inception to his encouragement. The fruit of twenty years of painstaking scholarship, Wheat's work is one which no reference library can do without and which no historian of the West can afford to ignore. To add delight to solid worth, it has been handsomely printed by the Grabhorn Press.

Yale University

ARCHIBALD HANNA, JR.

WILLIAM BYRD OF VIRGINIA: THE LONDON DIARY (1717-1721)
AND OTHER WRITINGS. Edited by *Louis B. Wright* and *Marion Tinling*.
(New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. vi, 647. \$10.00.)

WILLIAM Byrd of Westover was an indefatigable diarist who kept an almost daily record of his activities during most of his adult life. The editorial efforts of Louis B. Wright, Marion Tinling, and Maude H. Woodfin some years ago gave us two portions of Byrd's diary, covering the years 1709-1712 and 1739-1741. There we may read of the day-to-day routine of a Virginia gentleman, immersed in plantation affairs and active in provincial society and politics. Here, save for the last few months of the diary, we have a vivid picture of Byrd as a London man about town.

Born in Virginia, Byrd had gone to England for his schooling at the age of seven. By the time he was thirty he had spent nearly three quarters of his life there, studying law, learning business methods, representing his colony, and enjoying life. Thus in the early Georgian years, when he was again abroad, he was as familiar with the London scene as he was with his Virginia holdings.

Men keep diaries for various reasons. Byrd wrote for himself alone, in cipher, apparently to provide a complete memorandum of how he passed his time. Public affairs are almost never touched upon. One day's account is much like the next, for

he mingles the routine and extraordinary features of his life in a methodical and matter-of-fact presentation. He wastes no words, yet the total effect is highly informative. We follow him through each day from morning till night: he reads the classics, he exercises, he goes forth on business or (more often) social calls; he takes his meals, drops into coffee houses, theaters, and bagnios, plays cards, and attends balls. Occasionally he makes short journeys into the country but never leaves the capital for long. He moves in good society, but his connections with the titled and influential are set down without self-consciousness. He was indeed, as his epitaph tells us, "the well-bred gentleman and polite companion." But he was no mere social drone; Virginia used him as an agent, his business as a planter required attention, and he possessed genuine intellectual interests that kept him at his daily stint of reading the classics and at his writing-table and made him a loyal member of the Royal Society. He had the vices as well as the virtues of his class, and his diary tells of many a guinea lost at the gaming tables and of innumerable sexual encounters.

One can hardly conceive of a more authentic depiction of society, and the editors are to be congratulated for presenting the diary as completely as the mysteries of shorthand will permit. It is a social document of great interest and value for the historian and, to some extent, the student of psychology. Dr. Wright has prefaced the text with a graceful and informative biographical essay. The concluding pages of the book are devoted to abridged versions of three of Byrd's published works: *History of the Dividing Line*, *A Journey to the Land of Eden*, and *A Progress to the Mines*.

University of Wisconsin

WILLIAM L. SACHSE

THE GOVERNOR AND THE REBEL: A HISTORY OF BACON'S REBELLION IN VIRGINIA. By *Wilcomb E. Washburn*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg. 1957. Pp. xv, 248. \$5.00.)

For many a year, Bacon's Rebellion has provided the prime example in the colonial period of the "devil theory of history." Herbert L. Osgood published the first important antidote in 1907, and in 1949 Professor Craven's perceptive and judicious analysis impressively added to our understanding. Now, in Mr. Washburn's vigorously written and interesting volume, we get a return to the devil theory, for it is as polemical as the works which its author attacks. This time, however, it is Nathaniel Bacon, not Sir William Berkeley, who emerges as the villain. Without any doubt whatever, Washburn has deflated Bacon; no longer can this young gentleman be regarded as the defender of the rights of the people of Virginia, let alone as "The Torchbearer of the Revolution." And he certainly was no humanitarian. In this respect, historians are brought right back to the sound positions of Osgood and Craven, if indeed many had really abandoned them.

On the other hand, Washburn has inflated Berkeley beyond all reason, strain-

ing favorable evidence and passing by counterevidence, when he asserts that Sir William was the greatest governor of Virginia. The case is not proved. In the present work, as in *Virginia under Charles I and Cromwell*, Berkeley is depicted as humanely desiring to protect the Indians against rapacious and aggressive frontiersmen. Is this true? Granted the greedy and brutal nature of the whites, was Sir William any different? In 1646 he bought two Indian slaves, and in 1666 he wrote as follows to Major General Smythe of Rappahannock County: "... since I have collected my selfe I thinke it is necessary to Destroy all these Northern Indians—for they must needs be Conscious of the coming of these other Indians. . . . If yu, the Councell nere yu, and the Councell of Warr be of this opinion it may be done without Charge, for Women and Children will Defray it. . . . if your young men will not Undertake it alone there will be enow from hence will undertake it for their Share of the Booty" (quoted in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2d ser., XVI [October, 1936], 591).

This book is not so much a history of the rebellion as a study in contrasting political personalities. The behavior of Bacon and his army is isolated from civil matters; other related domestic issues are overlooked. Therefore, the concluding chapter on the "causes" of the uprising is incomplete. Here was a civil war, the tragic consequence of a society in crisis. Valuable as Washburn's book is, the fact remains that the present need is for a thorough reinterpretation of the history of the colony of Virginia, 1624 to 1690. This needs to be history without tears, without recriminations; in short, history without myths. It must be history based on an objective reexamination of the sources, particularly the little-used records of the county courts.

University of California, Berkeley

CARL BRIDENBAUGH

THE SOUTH IN THE REVOLUTION, 1763-1789. By *John Richard Alden*. [A History of the South, Volume III.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1957. Pp. xv, 442. \$7.50.)

THE third in the History of the South series, this is a creditable addition to the list. The book is, in the main, a narrative and descriptive account of the events of the period from 1763 to 1789, which skillfully interweaves events within the Southern colonies and in the other sections of the country. Since this book was designed for the sophisticated general reader, as well as the professional historian, it was necessary to include a good deal of the familiar events of the Revolutionary period, but, even so, I feel that there was not the need for quite so much detail and that more attention could have been given to strictly Southern material. The two introductory chapters give a good picture of the South in 1763 in its social and economic aspects. The next several chapters are a straightforward account of the development of the Revolutionary movement in the South from the introduction of Grenville's program to the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. The most interesting material here is the analysis of the East-West, North-South

conflicts that emerged during this period. The treatment is thoughtful and analytical and brings together the best thinking of contemporary writers and the author's own conclusions. It is Alden's judgment that East-West conflicts can be, and indeed have been, overemphasized, that the real conflicts which developed were those between the Northern and Southern colonies, and that out of these conflicts there emerged for the first time in colonial history something that might properly be called the South as a conscious political and social entity.

The other fresh and interesting material in the first section of the book relates to the expansion into the Southwest and discusses the relationships among the several Indian groups and the settlers. Here the author writes from substantial research in the sources and from a background of strong personal interest. There is no better treatment in small compass of these matters than is contained in this book.

In the second portion of the book, the author emphasizes the military aspects with which he is thoroughly familiar and on which he is an authority. Because of his great interest in military history, there is a larger emphasis upon this aspect of the Revolution than upon the cultural, social, and intellectual currents of the period. This does not mean that these subjects are not dealt with, however. There are chapters, following the familiar lines, on the political organization of the states and the part the South played in the formation of the Confederation and the Constitution. Alden's treatment of social and economic movements during the Revolution, together with his analysis of political events, leads him to the conclusion that there was not sufficient change during the period to justify the use of the term "internal revolution." He identifies three groups politically, which have their counterparts in social and economic groups. These are the Conservatives (Edmund Pendleton, James Iredell, and the Pinckneys), the Radicals (Willie Jones and Thomas Person), and the Liberals (George Mason, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison). There was no clearcut victory for any of the three throughout the South; the Conservatives controlled Maryland and South Carolina, the Radicals, Georgia, and the Liberals, Virginia and North Carolina, but none of these groups remained completely or permanently in control.

The book is well designed to interest the intelligent, sophisticated layman since it is attractively and well written, and yet, at the same time, it is documented sufficiently for the scholar. There is a good critical essay on authorities and an excellent index.

University of Louisville

PHILIP DAVIDSON

GEORGE WASHINGTON. Volume VII, FIRST IN PEACE, MARCH 1793–DECEMBER 1799. By *John Carroll Alexander* and *Mary Wells Ashworth*. [Completing the Biography by Douglas Southall Freeman.] (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1957. Pp. xxiv, 729. \$10.00.)

THIS volume covers the life of Washington from February 22, 1793, until his

death on December 14, 1799: the period of his second term as President and his retirement at Mount Vernon, which lasted almost three years. During his second term, in which he continued to set the precedents which established governmental practices for his successors, he faced grave problems in foreign affairs, particularly with England and France; he was harassed by Indian attacks along the north-west border posts where the British were constantly causing trouble; there were the problems of the growing pains of the western frontier at a time when the Spaniards held New Orleans in a tight fist and continued their control of the Mississippi, denying its use to the Americans to the north; there were the Indian attacks inspired by the Spaniards against the southern colonies; there was the Whisky Rebellion which challenged the authority of government and required armed force for its suppression; there were the small bickerings incident to the establishment of the federal city on the Potomac; there were pressures from his fellow countrymen, those who wanted war against England and those who wanted war against France; and there was the bitter opposition to the ratification of the Jay Treaty. Through all of this, he was subjected to scurrilous personal attacks which sorely tried his patience, and only by the utmost strength of character was he able to avoid being drawn into foreign war.

Meantime, his personal affairs were worsening, since the death of George Augustine Washington left him without adequate management for his Mount Vernon estate. When he finally retired to his estate on the Potomac, it was with a feeling of vast relief and in the hope that he would have privacy and the enjoyment of his family. But uninvited guests and curiosity seekers gave him no peace, and he suffered an anticlimax to his career by accepting command of a non-existing army to fight a foreign war that never happened.

Upon Freeman's death his publisher entrusted this final volume to his former assistants, who were thoroughly indoctrinated with Freeman's methods and who write as though they felt their distinguished predecessor were present, looking over their shoulders. Not one of the seven volumes is history in the grand manner and was never intended to be. In his first volume, Freeman indulged himself once in a purple passage when he described the night ride of Washington from the scene of Braddock's defeat. From that time on, he eschewed anything resembling literary flights and confined himself to a methodical account of each event, with the purpose of exhausting the subject. His successors have carried on the same detailed, day-by-day presentation of the events of Washington's life, so that it need not be done again. They have completed the work as though it were Freeman's approval that they sought, and they have faithfully carried out his purpose. The volume is abundantly footnoted and thoroughly indexed.

Richmond, Virginia

DAVID J. MAYS

THE PRESIDENCY OF JOHN ADAMS: THE COLLAPSE OF FEDERALISM, 1795-1800. By *Stephen G. Kurtz*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1957. Pp. 448. \$8.50.)

Mr. Kurtz presents here not a complete history of the presidency of John Adams but an interpretation of its politics and major policies. The main theme is the conflict between Adams and Hamilton. Inasmuch as the absorbing concern of Adams was the quasi war with France, Kurtz logically begins with its immediate cause, the Jay Treaty. He also emphasizes the effort of Hamilton to defeat Adams in 1796, since that ill-fated maneuver intensified the strife between the two men.

Before 1799 the quarrel with France united the Federalists on an anti-French program that included the Alien and Sedition Acts, additional taxes, and plans for a new national army under the command of Washington. The majority of the Federalists, as represented by Washington and Adams, accepted such measures as necessary to protect the Union from the hostile actions of France. According to Kurtz, a small group of articulate Federalists, led by Hamilton, sought to exploit the quarrel in order to impose a militaristic, repressive regime on the country, with the object of crushing the Republican opposition and of perpetuating the power of the Federalists.

Knowing that Hamilton had labored to defeat him in 1796, Adams at the outset of his administration courted Jefferson as a means of resisting Hamilton's militaristic designs. In this endeavor Adams failed, for in March, 1797, the Federalists were united on the anti-French policy. As a president elected by Federalist votes, Adams was constrained to go along with his party and to drop his plan for a coalition with the Republicans. As long as Washington supported the war policy, Hamilton could count on the backing of the general, exploit his great popularity, and keep Adams in subjection. The climax of the political strife came on February 1, 1799, when Washington abandoned Hamilton by notifying Adams that the American people were "very desirous of peace." In this brief statement Washington assured Adams of support for steps toward ending the quasi war. This assurance freed Adams from the Hamiltonian war party and enabled him to break its grip on his administration.

Kurtz's emphasis on the strife between Hamilton and Adams plays down the Alien and Sedition Acts, concerning which the two men agreed, and magnifies the issue of militarism, about which they disagreed. The author gives the credit for thwarting Hamilton to Adams and his peace efforts rather than to Jefferson and Madison and their opposition, through the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, to the Alien and Sedition Acts. Yet it seems likely that the Resolutions had an important effect. The Virginia legislature adopted Madison's statement about five weeks before Washington wrote to Adams in behalf of peace. The challenge of the Resolutions to the Federalists, in company with Virginia's military prepara-

tions and talk of armed resistance and civil war, put Washington, as commander of the proposed national army, in a situation in which he lacked the support of the largest member of the Union and faced the prospect of being forced to fight against his native state and, as he put it, its "child," Kentucky. Washington's letter to Hamilton of February 25, 1799, sounded the death knell of the proposed national army. If the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions helped to convince Washington of the need for peace, then Jefferson and Madison contributed decisively to the emancipation of John Adams from Hamilton's baleful influence.

Based on careful and extensive research, Kurtz's study is admirable for the clarity and precision with which it analyzes the men, issues, and events of a fateful era. As the best work on its subject, it reveals John Adams as a president of larger stature than has generally been accorded him. This is an interesting, readable, and significant book.

Cornell University

CURTIS P. NETTELS

MAGNIFICENT MISSOURIAN: THE LIFE OF THOMAS HART BENTON. By *Elbert B. Smith*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1957. Pp. 351. \$6.00.)

FITTINGLY commemorating the one hundredth anniversary of the death of Thomas Hart Benton, this volume provides a fast moving, highly readable, and very favorable account of his career from early childhood to death. Here one sees Benton in his various roles of lawyer, soldier, editor, senator, and publicist much as he himself interpreted his place as a participant in American public life for more than thirty years. His views on the major issues of the day, his contributions to their settlement, and his evaluation of those with whom he came in contact receive attention. Throughout the narrative, Benton's pronounced personal faults and virtues and his admirable devotion to family find expression. From his younger days as a Jackson leader in the Senate to his sorrowful but determined efforts to keep the slavery issue from splitting the country in his declining years, Benton stands out as a dedicated American. The author has examined source materials and has considered earlier biographies, thus providing a sound basis on which to construct his account.

Theodore Roosevelt and William M. Meigs published biographies of Benton at the turn of the twentieth century, but neither searched out the scattered pieces of evidence essential to constructing a full-bodied account. Smith's volume marks a great advance over both in this respect. It will of course be compared most directly with William Nisbet Chambers' *Old Bullion Benton*, which appeared in 1956. Although Smith devotes attention to background conditions, he fails to provide as full a setting for his story as does Chambers. Some of this results from his shorter narrative—the Chambers volume runs to some one hundred pages more—but his interest in personalities also accounts for the difference. The general

reader may prefer this approach, though it limits the author's probing of the issues at stake. Where interpretation of issues enters in, Smith is more inclined to speak in terms of black and white, whereas Chambers notes the shadings. Moreover, Smith is more the partisan. In his account, Benton "roars for several hours," "girds for battle," and "charges like a raging buffalo" considerably more than in Chambers' book. Like Benton, he finds Calhoun woefully lacking in statesmanship, and his judgment of men most often follows that of his hero. At times he offers a word of praise or explanation when silence would seem more graceful. Thus, he feels that the charge of petty thievery on which Benton was dismissed from the University of North Carolina must have been true; otherwise a man so brave as Benton would have killed his accuser. Perhaps, too, Benton's major handicaps extended beyond his loves, hates, furious temper, and impatience with his opponents; judgment and sense of timing could be at fault as well. In thoroughness, moderation, and documentation, Chambers' book will probably be the choice of scholars.

Smith's book should appeal to the general reader because of its brevity and concise approach, but scholars too will find its evaluation of Benton and his contemporaries provocative. Thomas Hart Benton amply deserves the attention which professional historians are devoting to him after so many decades of biographical neglect.

University of Missouri

LEWIS ATHERTON

THE LOG-CABIN CAMPAIGN. By *Robert Gray Gunderson*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1957. Pp. viii, 292. \$7.50.)

THE Whig campaign of 1840 has long been famous as one that swept the country with a political excitement comparable to the hysteria of a frontier religious revival. In this volume, the author analyzes, with a wealth of lively detail, the political alchemy that fused the heterogeneous political factions of anti-Van Buren men into one party and carried that party to success.

The divisions and failures of the election of 1836 had demonstrated that party unity was essential for success; the course of the hapless Van Buren administration provided the essential catalyst—a common determination to defeat the Democratic administration. But it was the political acumen of "new Whig" leaders—politicians such as Thurlow Weed, Thaddeus Stevens, and Tom Corwin—that brought about the political miracle. It was these leaders who determined "to adapt political techniques to the realities of an expanding suffrage as the Jacksonians had done" and who transformed the Whigs for this election into the party of the common man, free from the taint of aristocracy and wealth. This, in effect, is the thesis of Mr. Gunderson's admirable study of the Log Cabin Campaign, and he vividly unfolds the role of the "new Whigs." Weed and Stevens controlled the convention at Harrisburg in December, 1839, dictating the choice of William Henry

Harrison as candidate and defeating the aspirations of Henry Clay. (The author attributes this primarily to Thaddeus Stevens rather than to Weed, who favored General Winfield Scott.) The new leaders then governed the tone of the campaign, which never rose above an emotional sentimentality and often wallowed in the vulgarity of barnyard humor. It was a roistering, vigorous, demagogic campaign. The author describes colorfully the techniques employed, the flood of songs, the slogans, the symbols, the political rallies, the astounding volume of cheap campaign literature, and the unprecedented avalanche of stump-speaking. He emphasizes the importance of "Thurlow Weed's Network"—the web of party filaments that bound national, state, and county Whig committees together in an effort to "get out the vote." The campaign thus contributed to American political life, new demagogic techniques, and a pattern of party organization.

Gunderson has based his study on careful research in the papers of political leaders of the day and in contemporary newspapers. With a single lapse (the election of 1840 signalized "the defeat of a party which had held the Presidency for forty years"), his book is an accurate, entertaining portrayal of the virtues, and notably the defects, of the Log Cabin Campaign.

Hunter College

DOROTHY BURNE GOEBEL

THE MIND AND ART OF HENRY ADAMS. By J. C. Levenson. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1957. Pp. x, 430. \$6.00.)

MR. Levenson's book is one of the most ambitious as it is one of the best of the recent studies of Henry Adams. Its avowed purpose is "to restore the powerful symmetry of an abundant literary career." It is a sympathetic study, critical without bias, and produces a spiritual portrait which, for this reviewer who had the privilege of friendly acquaintance with Henry Adams, is, in most respects, a faithful likeness. On the assumption that "the story of a serious artist's work tends to be the essential story of his life," Levenson has made an intensive study of Adams' works and letters and other literary remains, which he reviews in much detail.

The range of Adams' interest and experience is enormous. His inheritance was that of the family tradition of conscience and devotion to duty, modified by the more genial influence of his Maryland grandmother to which he owed in part his emotional nature and his sensitiveness to beauty. He was a student, engaged in life-long search of education, an unofficial diplomat, a keen observer of politics and persons, a free-lance correspondent, a teacher, an editor, a biographer and historian, an essayist, novelist, and poet, a traveler as much at home in England and France as in America, an amateur artist and, in his later years, an amateur scientist desperately trying to discover in the physical universe an explanation of human history and light on its future course.

The first half of the book deals with Adams as historian. In his teaching of

medieval and American history at Harvard (1870-1877) he is revealed as "the first modern historical scholar in America"; in his "brilliant" biography of Albert Gallatin (1879) he "entered upon the last stage of scholarship and the first of historical art"; his life of John Randolph (1882) is discussed as an exercise in "satiric virtuosity" as is also his first novel, *Democracy* (1880), which "shows how far the enjoyment of skillful play entered Adams' character as a writer." For Levenson, the *History of the United States during the Administrations of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison* (1885-1891), is "America's finest masterpiece in history," and he devotes a long chapter to its analysis and discussion.

The second half of the book includes Adams' "climactic voyage" to the South Seas (1891-1892), where he participated in Polynesian culture and, under the tutelage of La Farge, practiced with water colors, gaining a "sensuous responsiveness to both art and nature." A visit in November, 1895, to Normandy resulted in *Mount-Saint-Michel and Chartres* (1904), the "controlling purpose" of which is "to show, in its own form as in its subject, how vast a world can be found by the senses and how great a work the intellect may do when it serves the highest vision of the imagination and defies, knowingly, the terrors of fact which always beset that vision."

In the chapter entitled "Modern Man in a Multiverse," Levenson offers an illuminating commentary on *The Education of Henry Adams* (1907), which he has been careful to point out is not an autobiography. The final chapter, "The Darkening Prairie," is devoted in large part to Adams' search for an explanation of human history, as set forth in *The Tendency of History* (1894), *The Rule of Phase in History* (1909), and *A Letter to American Teachers of History* (1910). Levenson wisely refrains from trying to transform himself into a scientist in order to pass judgment on Adams' interpretation of his prodigiously wide reading in the literature of science. He does, however, call Adams a "preacher of doom" and suggests that the *Letter* may have been a "practical joke, designed to worry universities and irritate professors," thus confusing the issues most seriously under consideration.

The final pages of this chapter present a touching picture of Henry Adams' last years: "When he went back to Washington, to the house which he had built for Marian Adams and into which she had never moved, it was for the last time, but he was secure in the qualities that had furnished strength to his history and art and had proved to be his most enduring traits."

Washington, D. C.

WALDO GIFFORD LELAND

AMERICA AND THE FIGHT FOR IRISH FREEDOM, 1866-1922: AN OLD STORY BASED UPON NEW DATA. By *Charles Callan Tansill*. (New York: Devin-Adair Company. 1957. Pp. xi, 489. \$7.50.)

THIS is essentially a study in political and diplomatic history of Clan-na-Gael efforts in America to influence the American government against England and

in support of the radical nationalist movement in Ireland. In a book overcrowded with villains, Judge Daniel F. Cohalan and the old Fenian John Devoy, leaders of the clan during the critical years of World War I and its aftermath, are the heroes. Cohalan, whose papers were made available for this study, was admired by many nationalists but had the misfortune to run afoul of Woodrow Wilson and Eamon De Valera. As a consequence Cohalan has received the worst of it in accounts of the period. In this book it is the judge's enemies who are roundly abused, but an objective and thoughtful account of his work is not attempted. To say, for example, that it was Cohalan's sound Americanism which brought him into conflict with De Valera is to remain on the surface of the problem. To ensure its influence in American domestic and in Irish national affairs, the clan always fought for control of nationalist organizations in this country and over Irish funds collected here. In his inexperience De Valera made many mistakes, but in trying to fight the clan's control he was acting as had Michael Davitt and other visiting nationalists in similar situations in earlier years.

Wilson's dislike for Cohalan deepened profoundly after a message apparently sent by Cohalan to the German government, requesting military aid for Ireland in the coming rising, was turned up by a Secret Service raid upon the German consulate in New York on April 18, 1916. When the *New York World* later made the message public Cohalan denied authorship and declared himself a victim of a British plot. Dr. Tansill is able to add surprisingly little to Cohalan's denial, except to suggest that Secretary of State Lansing may have been responsible for the alleged forgery.

It is a thesis of this book that Wilson's hatred for the Irish blocked efforts to get recognition of Ireland's right to self-determination at the Paris Peace Conference. Only the defeat of Wilson's policies and the advent of Harding's administration, coinciding with Britain's desire for a naval agreement with America, forced Lloyd George to placate American opinion by negotiating with the Irish rebels. Wilson was an Anglophile, but Tansill makes too much of this and not enough of the practical difficulties raised by the doctrine of self-determination. After all, the Irish were not the only American minority whose nationalist aspirations were frustrated in 1919. Wilson's Irish sympathies were modest indeed, but his administration was more responsive to Irish-American demands than Harding's.

The author's impetuous judgments and his failure to use the New York Public Library's valuable Irish collection make this study less adequate than the doctoral dissertation Edward Alden Jamison presented to Harvard University in 1942. In his concern for personalities, Tansill fails to raise many meaningful questions. Whatever their personal differences, Wilson and Cohalan were alike in urging upon Europe nationalist solutions, the unhappy consequences of which are today apparent.

Silver Spring, Maryland

THOMAS N. BROWN

POPULATION REDISTRIBUTION AND ECONOMIC GROWTH, UNITED STATES, 1870-1950. Volume I, METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND REFERENCE TABLES. By *Everett S. Lee, Ann Ratner Miller, Carol P. Brainerd, and Richard A. Easterlin*. Prepared under the direction of *Simon Kuznets* and *Dorothy Swaine Thomas*. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume 45.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1957. Pp. xix, 759. \$5.00.)

THIS publication represents the first of two stages in the development of an interdisciplinary study of demographic-economic relations. In the days of Malthus and his antagonists, neither demography nor economics had acquired the characteristics of a scientific discipline. Consequently, their essays were necessarily, in the main, uncontrolled speculations. With the development of demography and of economics as special research fields, an adequate treatment of complex interactions between changes in population and in economic processes requires a new approach. The project initiated by Simon Kuznets and Dorothy Swaine Thomas sets a model for this kind of undertaking.

The project has required a series of related investigations by several coworkers. Unfortunately, the contributions of individuals in such a cooperative study are frequently obscured, not only in reports issued in the name of cabinet officers or bureau chiefs but even in private publications. In the present study, the findings are presented by those who found them, and proper recognition is accidentally enhanced by the device of presenting two different kinds of findings in separate volumes.

This publication is not one that must be read by all historians—though its sequel will demand the attention of all those concerned with the economic and social history of this country. The material presented here need be used only by those who require reliable information on its specific topics: estimates of internal migration, the labor force, manufacturing activity, and income by states in the United States, 1870-1950.

The investigations are “analysis-directed.” They are designed to supply kinds of information needed for an analysis of the interaction of demographic and economic processes—as contrasted with information needed for administrative purposes or controlled by convenience and economy in data collection. The estimates appear in all cases to be the most reliable to date.

This reviewer selects the first topic for special critical consideration. The estimation of migration by Everett S. Lee may appear to the superficial observer as a pedestrian enterprise. Actually the undertaking presented many difficult problems to which the investigator responded with vigorous imagination. His scholarly judgments on all points seem to have been well grounded. He uses census survival ratios for the national population in estimating net migration by states, rather than more pretentious life table ratios. The procedure adopted involves the work-

ing assumption that errors in census data by states are proportional to errors for the national population; this is preferable to the alternative assumption that there are no errors either in the censuses or in the statistics on mortality. He adopts a logical and useful definition of rates of migration. The influence of variations in age composition on birth-residence indexes of migration is taken clearly into account. In the course of his study, the investigator makes several important tangential contributions, notably a series of life table survival ratios for the native white population of the United States, 1870-1940.

All these studies emphasize the enormous value, but also the defects, of the information on American society provided by the periodic enumerations for which the Founding Fathers made provision in our Constitution. It may be hoped that increased recognition of gross errors in previous census data may stimulate the administrative imagination and the public support needed for the provision of more accurate information.

American University

FRANK LORIMER

PHILADELPHIA GENTLEMEN: THE MAKING OF A NATIONAL UPPER CLASS. By E. Digby Baltzell. (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press. 1958. Pp. ix, 440. \$5.75.)

Philadelphia Gentlemen is a sociological analysis of the upper class in Philadelphia in the mid-twentieth century. Its purpose is to reveal the most commonly marked characteristics of the Proper Philadelphian as well as his historical development. It has, of course, wider application for the author intends the book to illustrate the growth of a national upper class. The author is, moreover, anxious to show that the individuals of this class have not displayed until very recently, at least in Philadelphia, a sense of *noblesse oblige* such as presumably distinguished them during the eighteenth century.

The book is based on a meticulous consideration and correlation of *Who's Who in America* and the *Social Register*. *Who's Who* lists the elite, or those "individuals who are the most successful and stand at the top of the *functional* class hierarchy." On the other hand, the *Social Register* records the members of the upper class, a concept referring to "a group of *families*, whose members are descendants of successful individuals (elite members) of one, two, three or more generations ago." Of the 770 Philadelphians listed in *Who's Who* in 1940, some 226 or 29 per cent were also in the *Social Register*. Dr. Baltzell proceeds to examine those 770 individuals, particularly the 226 Proper Philadelphians, in terms of family history, occupations, place of residence, religion, education, and club membership. This is no casual comparison of the elite group with the upper class—rather, each point of qualification, such as occupation, becomes the subject of exhaustive statistical inquiry. No less than thirty-eight tables attest these inquiries. The result of this careful checking tends to show that the upper class in Phila-

delphia is composed predominantly of Episcopalians, who live in Chestnut Hill or on the Main Line, and whose sons attend private boarding schools in New England and probably go on to Princeton, Harvard, or Yale. These men have made their mark in business, finance, or law. In general, they have inherited comfortable wealth from ancestors whose position was established among the elite usually by 1900; many of them, however, achieved *Social Register* status only since 1900.

In constructing the picture of the Proper Philadelphian, Baltzell has made use of masses of printed material and of some manuscript sources; there is little on Philadelphia and Philadelphia families which he has neglected. In the opinion of this reviewer, the book suffers from lack of a bibliography. It has copious, helpful notes and an excellent index. The author is to be congratulated on including three maps—one of Philadelphia urban residential areas, one of suburban residential areas, and one of the location of various facets of Jewish culture in the city. To those readers who do not know Penn's city the maps should prove invaluable adjuncts to the understanding of the book. There are some few factual errors, but it would seem priggish to spell them out, for they do not interfere with the total concept of the book.

One of the thoughtful questions raised, and not entirely answered, has to do with the changing attitude of the upper class toward participation in politics and statesmanship. In the eighteenth century the Philadelphia upper class was part and parcel of the changing political scene nationally and locally. By the nineteenth century a withdrawal had taken place; the Philadelphian was mostly content to gain prominence in finance, law, or the new industries. This abstention the author explains partly by the necessity for absorption in professional life brought on by increasing competition and partly by the Quaker tradition. He also refers to the Philadelphia lawyer's failure to use "abstract principles" and to a "certain fastidiousness" which interfered with Dr. Benjamin Rush's complete political success. These are fascinating points which might be further explored. Baltzell makes abundantly clear that recent years have tended to draw Philadelphians of the upper class once more into the arena of active events.

Once we accede to the author's premises concerning *Who's Who* and the *Social Register*, I think we must accept his conclusions as generally valid. In some parts the book is not easy reading for the layman or even for the trained historian who must pick his way through the sociological patois. It is, however, well written and all terms are defined concisely. *Philadelphia Gentlemen* is a gold mine of information and a possible guide to future class analyses. Historians should thank Baltzell for providing some concrete measuring methods for social history.

American University

DOROTHY D. GONDOS

THE ISOLATIONIST IMPULSE: ITS TWENTIETH-CENTURY REACTION. By *Selig Adler*. (New York: Abelard-Schuman, Inc. 1957. Pp. 538. \$6.75.)

AMERICAN isolationism has long awaited a chronicler, and Dr. Adler has boldly backed into the problem by covering the more recent years between 1914 and 1956. But his research spade, though ranging widely and exhuming many colorful details, has turned up surprisingly little to change the main outlines. So encompassing has been the struggle between the national introverts and extroverts that to tell the story is but to review the high lights of American diplomatic history from one angle of vision. Adler's major contribution has been to piece together the tangled tale, relying not only on his own investigations but on the monographs of earlier trail blazers such as Walter Johnson and Wayne S. Cole. He dissects with discernment the various propaganda organizations and pressure groups, notably the China lobby; he describes with zest a curiously mismatched cast of characters, including blatant demagogues like the late Senator McCarthy; he explains with penetration the roots of their origin and the rationale of their behavior. One is repeatedly struck by the intellectual zigs and zags of the Beards, the Borahs, the Hoovers, the Franklin Roosevelts, and other assorted gentry. The book is not only first-rate diplomatic history but intellectual history as well; it adds a kind of third dimension to the conventional diplomatic treatment.

The author, on the whole, has discharged his task with commendable skill, even though his publishers have perpetrated a typographical monstrosity by decapitating all running heads. The tone is objective throughout, although one senses that Adler is on the side of the angels—that is, the nonisolationists. His judgments are sane, often shrewd, and he handles deftly the case for Franklin Roosevelt's lack of candor. The organization is smoothly chronological, except toward the very end, where the approach to the near present has blurred the focus. The style, which is evidently designed to seduce the history-allergic general reader, is richly figurative, even at the risk of an occasional cliché and some scrambled imagery. The bibliographies are full, though they presumably could have been updated to cover some contributions of the last two years, including the books by Norman A. Graebner and J. Chalmers Vinson. The footnotes—or rather backnotes—are awkwardly useful and contain a rather indiscriminating collection of college textbooks, manuscripts, and other miscellaneous sources.

A study that is so intimately concerned with an ever shifting state of mind could have profited from sharper definitions. Isolationism has appeared in many guises, ranging from ox-cart insularism and anti-allianceism down to jet-age Asia-firstism and Gibraltarism—now disengagement. But if isolationism, like the elephant, is difficult to define, like the elephant it is easy to recognize. Adler has sharpened our capacity to recognize the critter when he appears again in sheep's clothing.

Stanford University

THOMAS A. BAILEY

ISOLATION AND SECURITY: IDEAS AND INTERESTS IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. Edited by *Alexander DeConde*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1957. Pp. xi, 204. \$4.50.)

THIS is a collection of interpretative essays on American foreign policy—particularly between the world wars—which grew out of an Interuniversity Summer Research Seminar at Duke University sponsored by the Social Science Research Council. The participants in the seminar (and the authors of these essays) were Alexander DeConde, Richard N. Current, J. Chalmers Vinson, Robert H. Ferrell, William R. Allen, William L. Neumann, and Kenneth W. Thompson. Three points may be emphasized concerning these seven scholars. First: they represent substantial research experience and ability on the topics considered in the seminar. Each has published research monographs and articles on phases of twentieth-century American foreign policy. Second: they represent considerable diversity in training, specialization, and point of view. They were trained in graduate schools in different sections of the country. Five are historians, one is a political scientist, and one an economist. Their points of view range widely, including “revisionist,” “internationalist,” and “realist.” Third: though these scholars are experienced enough to have significant publication records, all of them are young enough to invite expectation of substantial research contributions in the future. The seminar was undoubtedly a stimulating intellectual experience for the participants. Consequently, this book may be as important for what it represents and presages as for what it is.

The individual interpretations in these essays vary widely. The emphasis by Vinson, Ferrell, and DeConde on the importance of military force for the maintenance of peace contrasts sharply, for example, with Current’s assumptions. In his essay DeConde explains how changed world conditions and changed conditions within the United States affected American isolationism in this century. Current concludes that since 1917 collective security “was hard to distinguish from the timeworn statecraft of alliances.” Vinson describes and deplores “the efforts of Americans to maintain in the interwar years a foreign policy divorced from military force.” Ferrell concludes that the peace movement “went wrong in its ideas. The League, the World Court, disarmament, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, arbitration and conciliation, freedom of world trade, neutrality legislation—none of these, nor all of them together, could have insured international peace after 1918.” Economist Allen measures Cordell Hull’s views on the trade agreements program against standards provided by economic theory. He concludes that “Hull was deficient in much of his analysis” but that the trade agreements program “is an asset” and “probably comes close to being the best that we could reasonably have expected.” Allen’s essay is particularly welcome inasmuch as most of the essays in this volume (and most other writing by historians and political scientists

on American foreign affairs in the era of the world wars) tend to neglect economic aspects of the subject. Neumann analyzes American ideas of national interest in Asia. He believes that American attitudes toward China "meant much more than the sum total of concrete national interests. . . . China was . . . an element in a more sophisticated version of twentieth-century Manifest Destiny." Political scientist Thompson analyzes the theories of isolationism and collective security from a "realist" and pragmatic frame of reference. He concludes that both isolationism and collective security were "founded on partly dubious assumptions" but feels that "perhaps we should safeguard and preserve the recurring truths we find at the heart of isolationism and collective security, however inadequate, until we have a more inclusive and recognized body of theory for American foreign policy."

A brief but helpful bibliography is included, but no footnotes are provided. This is a provocative and worthwhile little book, and the seminar should pay additional dividends in the future publications of the scholars who participated in its sessions.

Iowa State College

WAYNE S. COLE

WOODROW WILSON. Volume I, AMERICAN PROPHET; Volume II, WORLD PROPHET. By Arthur Walworth. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1958. Pp. xi, 436; vii, 439. \$15.00 the set.)

THERE has long been a need for an adequate biography of Woodrow Wilson for the general reader. On one extreme are Ray S. Baker's *Woodrow Wilson, Life and Letters* in eight volumes and Arthur S. Link's extensive work currently being published; on the other are the much shorter chronicles written by William Allen White and Josephus Daniels in the mid-twenties or those more recently done by Harold G. Black and Ruth Cranston. Arthur Walworth has struck the happy medium. He presents a well-rounded study without attempting a complete treatment of the whole Wilson era.

Walworth's book is in a category by itself and probably will not soon be replaced as a two-volume biography of Woodrow Wilson. For more than a decade the author worked to produce this book. His years of meticulous research in printed and manuscript materials, his numerous interviews with Wilson's relatives and with those who knew him as a university professor, as president of Princeton, as governor of New Jersey, or as President of the United States, his painstaking writing and revising have all contributed to the success of this study. Not only has the author made good use of available sources but he has organized his materials carefully and has told his narrative with artistic skill. Indeed, it is in the role of literary historian that Walworth excels.

Although the word "Prophet" appears in the subtitle of each volume, the reader is hardly prepared for the theological terminology frequently found. The

following account of Wilson's sending Colonel Edward M. House to Europe shortly before the Paris Peace Conference will serve as an illustration: "To the prophet in the White House, the fractious Europeans . . . must be mastered and made to acknowledge the voice of the Lord as it spoke to free consciences that were consecrated to the common good. Philistines and Pharisees were always the same to the minister of a congregation, whether at Princeton, at Trenton, at Washington, or at Paris. They were heathen to be converted. . . . Fortunately, in the greatest of all Wilson's crusades for the common good he had an ideal ruling elder, a man loyal to gospel and yet one who knew how to fight Satan with his own wiles."

Of greater consequence to the student of the Wilson period is the author's habit of giving quotations without revealing the source from which the quotation is taken. Many sources are accurately cited, but many others are unlisted. Moreover, there are many irregularities in the footnotes, as well as in the citations in the body of the book. The note on sources lists only the secondary sources published within the last decade, and the index is by no means complete.

These flaws do not greatly mar this very readable book. Walworth understands his complex subject thoroughly and presents Wilson sympathetically, although not without blemish. Here for the first time Wilson as a family man is satisfactorily presented. The author skillfully handles Wilson's feminine friendships. Although these relationships were always platonic, they gave grounds for vicious gossip by his political enemies. This book will be read avidly by all lovers of first-class biography and especially by the many admirers of Woodrow Wilson.

University of Florida

GEORGE C. OSBORN

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY IN THE GREAT DEPRESSION: HOOVER-STIMSON FOREIGN POLICY, 1929-1933. By *Robert H. Ferrell*. [Yale Historical Publications, Studies 17.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1957. Pp. ix, 319. \$4.50.)

AMERICAN diplomacy during the tragic decade from 1927 to 1937, when the world passed from a "postwar" to a "prewar" period and the hope of statesmen for "peace in their time" became a mockery, is the subject of a comprehensive three-volume study planned by Robert H. Ferrell. His first volume (1952) deals most perceptively with the origins of the Kellogg Pact. The present volume, carrying the story through the Hoover-Stimson years, maintains the same high standards of scholarship and craftsmanship. It is based on thorough research in published and unpublished sources and on a mastery of all the more important secondary writings. Its style is concise, lucid, and lively, revealing a gift for analysis combined with a talent for vivid portrayal of scenes and personalities.

Ferrell reduces the tumble and jumble of events to a straightforward narrative with a clear pattern of meaning. His thesis may be stated thus: American diplo-

macy from 1929 to 1933 "succeeded or failed in its grand purpose, the preservation of peace, because of the combination in each diplomatic instance of four factors." First and most important, the Great Depression "palsied the hands of American statesmen." Second, the existing "diplomatic assumptions and policies" of the United States, notably the assumption of continuing international equilibrium and the policy of moral suasion, were inappropriate to the needs of the time, if not downright fallacious. Third, the human element, the character of American policy makers with their "personal abilities or lack thereof," was on the whole remarkably good despite Stimson's excessively lawyerlike way of looking at foreign affairs. Fourth, there was "the problem of events themselves," and these were baffling in their complexity and inherent difficulty.

This interpretation has many virtues, including charity as well as clarity. Perhaps it is too charitable. Often individual policy makers have been taken to task for much of what went wrong with depression diplomacy, though critics have not agreed whether Hoover should be blamed or Stimson. "A democratic society, in any case, can more safely be overcritical than overindulgent in its attitude toward public leadership," as Richard Hofstadter has said in another connection.

Ferrell questions the seriousness of policy differences between the President and the secretary of state in responding to the Far Eastern crisis. He also questions the existence of two distinct versions of nonrecognition, a Hoover Doctrine and a Stimson Doctrine. "In reality," he says, "the two men agreed far more than they disagreed, and it was only in the latter 1930's that they began to differ radically over issues of foreign policy." An opposite conclusion has been stated in the pages of this *Review* (LIX [April, 1954], 513-42), and the curious reader may compare the evidence and argument given there with that presented in Ferrell's book (p. 169 n. and *passim*).

Matters of personal judgment aside, this is an important and indeed an indispensable book for students of American diplomatic history. When the trilogy is completed, it undoubtedly will be accepted as the standard work on the period, and its author as the ranking authority.

Woman's College of the University of North Carolina RICHARD N. CURRENT

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AS AN IMPERIAL FACTOR, 1821-1869.

By *John S. Galbraith*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1957. Pp. viii, 500. \$6.75.)

DURING the period of the history of the Canadian west dealt with in this book, the Hudson's Bay Company played a preeminent part. The United States was a vital expanding force in North America, but Britain was far away, doubtful of the value of colonies and definitely loath to spend money on them. The future lay with Canada, but the Canada of those days was also distant and until almost the end of the period too poor and weak to take and administer the west. So the

Company was the trustee of British and Canadian interests. It was not an effective trustee, for as Mr. Galbraith makes clear a commercial corporation whose sole object, essentially, is private profit is a very inefficient imperial instrument. Nevertheless, the Hudson's Bay Company incidentally "performed an important function for Canada and the British Empire" in these years.

This big book is founded upon a wide variety of sources, mainly the Company's London archives. It is organized topically, in four sections dealing with the Company's frontier policies (designed to protect the areas where its fur trade profits were made), its relations with Russian America, the Oregon question, and the end of the Company's monopoly and the transfer of Rupert's Land to Canada. The volume ranges widely, covers rather more than its title implies, and sometimes becomes almost a history of the Company. It is the result of careful original investigation, is very fully documented, and contains an excellent if not absolutely exhaustive bibliography. It cannot be said that it does much to change the accepted versions of events; its contributions are chiefly in matters of detail. This reviewer has noted some minor errors but not many. The author is very fair to the Company, but it is hard to understand why he congratulates the Colonial Office in 1857 on not being "deluded" into believing that the Company wanted imperial troops at Red River merely for the sake of protection against the United States. The document on which the minute he cites was written is in fact a very frank statement by the Company of the need for support of its civil authority, then menaced by agitators from Canada. Galbraith must have been in a hurry at this point, for he also fails to mention Colonel C. F. Smith's United States military expedition, which was the original occasion of this request for troops. But this appears to be an exceptional case. The book impresses the reviewer as being a very sound and useful piece of work.

Perhaps a "technical" comment may be in order. The present writer is not one of those who get hot under the collar at the mere idea of relegating references to the back of a book. But he does feel that if this is done the references ought to be references only and should not be interspersed with miscellaneous information additional to the text, for the reader has no way of telling when a note contains such information without turning to the back. The present book shows signs of having been written with the intention that the references would be published as footnotes. (Perhaps Galbraith's publishers "crossed him up"; this happened to the reviewer once, and he has been angry ever since.) If publishers insist on putting references at the back of books, they ought to make some attempt to make things easy for the scholarly reader. In the present instance a university press (which ought to know better) has produced a handsome volume that is very difficult to use.

Ottawa, Canada

C. P. STACEY

HISTORIA DE LA ARGENTINA. Volume I, INTRODUCCIÓN, CONQUISTA Y POBLACIÓN (1492-1600). By *Vicente D. Sierra*. (Buenos Aires: Union de Editores Latinos. 1956. Pp. 618. 350 pesos.)

THIS handsome volume, packed with ideas as well as facts and illustrations, launches a very ambitious project. Not only has the author set himself the task of writing singlehandedly the whole history of Argentina in nine volumes, the first of which covers only the sixteenth century; he adds to the difficulty of his task by deliberately following both of two approaches to historical writing that are generally regarded as mutually exclusive. Expressed in terms of presidential addresses of the American Historical Association, these are the approaches set forth by Charles A. Beard and Samuel Eliot Morison. The author does not cite Beard and Morison in this connection; he does cite Croce and Ranke, and he describes his work as a composite of two types of historical writing, to wit, "history as a science of investigation," which aims only at establishing the facts, and "history with a purpose," which gives the facts "historical value" by "projecting them forward toward the present" in order to shape the future.

The purpose of this particular historical work is made crystal clear. The country's nineteenth-century historians, we are told, wrote the kind of history that was appropriate to the main problem of that period, which was "to constitute a state," but their works are largely irrelevant to the main problem confronting Argentina today, which is "to consolidate the nation." The present work is designed to meet what it describes as the urgent need for a reinterpretation of Argentine history which will "fortify [Argentine] nationality." Appropriately, the author dedicates his book to "mi patria."

If the reader wonders what all this has to do with the volume under review, the answer is to be found in the author's assumptions that the core of Spanish character has remained constant since the Middle Ages and that Argentina has always been essentially Spanish from the beginning to the present. Quoting in this connection the saying of an earlier Argentine historian, "to study the history of Spain is to study Argentine history," he devotes the first 131 pages of his text to the history of Spain through the sixteenth century. The Spanish character that emerges from his account is a compound of Catholicism, devotion to the ideal of justice, and individualism curbed by communalism. He then describes the indigenous Indians of Argentina and shows how, because of their low level of cultural development, those with whom the early conquerors made contact were either eliminated or assimilated by the superior Spanish culture. So rapidly did the assimilation proceed, we are told, that within half a century it had produced *mestizos* (half-breeds) who were true Spanish *caballeros* and who occupied the highest civil and ecclesiastical posts in the area. So long as Spain remained true to herself, as she did until corrupted by the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, all went well—within the limits of human frailty.

Of the many implications of this sixteenth-century story for present-day Argentina, only one can be noted here. The author, who belongs to the imperial school of Hispanic history, carries the imperial thesis to the point of defending a Spanish commercial measure of 1594 that crippled the port of Buenos Aires, and he couches his defense of that measure in terms that are relevant to the anti-Buenos Aires campaign, which is also an antiforeign, antioligarchical, anti-capitalist campaign, in the Argentina of today. The argument, though ingeniously developed, failed to convince the reviewer and only increased his skepticism about this kind of purposive historical writing. In the present instance, even when it does not distort the past it requires of the reader a familiarity with contemporary Argentina that few non-Argentines are likely to possess.

Fortunately, most of this volume is devoted to the other part of the author's task—establishing the facts—and he has performed it with a high degree of skill, which promises well for the utility of the whole nine-volume work. Though he was assisted by several talented historians in preparing the first volume, he did all the writing himself and plans to follow the same method in the subsequent volumes. This will give his whole work a unity lacking in its chief predecessor, the *Historia de la Nación Argentina* edited by Ricardo Levene. Excellent use has been made of a host of special studies, including several by foreigners such as the distinguished German Hispanist Richard Konetzke. One might argue that there is too much about the Church and too little about arts, crafts, medicine, and daily life; but no aspect of the life of the times is omitted, and there is an abundance of detail, well ordered and clearly set forth, about those aspects which are likely to interest most readers. In addition to its numerous illustrations, the book is equipped with a bibliography and an index of names.

University of Pennsylvania

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER

ARGENTINA, THE UNITED STATES, AND THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM, 1880-1914. By *Thomas F. McGann*. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LXX.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. viii, 332. \$6.50.)

THIS impressive contribution to the history of modern Argentina and of inter-American relations analyzes expertly three complex subjects: the structure of Argentina's society and politics in the decades after 1880; its diplomatic and economic rivalry with the United States; and selected developments in the neglected Pan American conference movement.

An oligarchy of aristocrats who called themselves the "Generation of Eighty" dominated the new Argentina. Stern patriots, closely tied to Europe, opposed to democracy, such presidents as Roca and Pellegrini—despite Juárez' corrupt regime—gave the nation peace and order while it expanded economically. McGann paints a masterful portrait, in color, of Argentina's class-dominated society—proud,

optimistic, bent on material gain, confident of the future. From a strong base of internal development Argentina's able leaders sustained their assertive foreign policy.

In the 1880's a similarly expansive United States reawakened to the importance of Latin America. Blaine's abortive call in 1881 for an inter-American conference came at an inopportune time, not when relations with Latin America were good, as McGann avers. But once the fears aroused by bellicose diplomacy subsided, the idea of Pan Americanism appealed to a host of special interests in the United States, most importantly to spokesmen convinced that in trade with Latin America lay the economic bonanza of the future. McGann probes the psychological and economic reasons why pro-European Argentina met United States initiative with a rival bid for continental leadership.

Emphasizing Argentina's role, McGann traces in detail the proceedings of four Pan American conferences, a revealing focus of Pan Americanism in practice. The United States, an inexperienced and poorly prepared host, proposed thorny, controversial topics at the first conference, held in Washington in 1889-1890. Argentina's brilliant delegates, Quintana and Saenz Peña, narrowly construed the conference's already narrow recommendatory powers and effectively battled the divided American delegates. Whether Argentina became accepted leader of a Latin American bloc, however, is questionable: Mexico, for example, was helpful to the United States; Chile was distrustful of Pan Americanism but testily independent itself.

At Mexico City in 1901-1902, the rivalry between Argentina and Chile almost disrupted the second conference. At Rio in 1906 and Buenos Aires in 1910 the meetings were more amicable, but by avoiding controversial issues, McGann points out, they reduced activity to lowest common denominators. Roosevelt and Root (whose good-will visit to South America during the Rio conference was a great success) pursued an irenic Pan American policy, unlike their Caribbean ventures, and won Argentina's respect. After 1910 growing United States trade with and investment in Argentina also helped to improve relations.

Despite criticism and turmoil, the era of the "Generation of Eighty" continued until World War I. Saenz Peña drove through a significant reform of the franchise in 1912. With all its weaknesses, McGann concludes, the Argentina of 1914 remarkably had fulfilled the old order's visions.

Exhaustive research in a wide variety of Argentine and United States sources, well-considered conclusions, and a lucid and pleasing style add up to a monograph of distinction. The absence of any form of bibliography, however, is regrettable.

Williams College

RUSSELL H. BASTERT

ESBOZO DE UNA HISTORIA DE LAS IDEAS EN EL BRASIL. By J. Cruz Costa. [Colección Tierra Firme, Historia de las Ideas en América, Volume III.] (Mexico, D. F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1957. Pp. 175.)

In his *Contribuição à história das idéias no Brasil* (1956) Cruz Costa presented a comprehensive view of the interrelation of philosophy and politics in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Brazil. His present outline of the "vicissitudes of the influence of European philosophical thought upon the formation of Brazilian intellectual culture" is an abridgment of the earlier work, translated into Spanish and published as part of a series on the history of ideas in America under Leopoldo Zea's direction. Cruz Costa's purpose is to ascertain whether European philosophical currents have been "assimilated," "adapted," or "deformed" in the Brazilian matrix. More than a history of ideas, it is an interpretation of Brazilian history.

In "Origins and Development" he treats successively the colonial dualistic heritage of Catholicism and empiricism, its continuation in the philosophical currents of the French Restoration which Brazilians borrowed to provide a rationale for constitutional monarchy, and the ideas impinging upon the "generation of 1868"—Comte's positivism, Spencer's evolutionism, German materialism—when a new social group, the commercial and bureaucratic bourgeoisie, began to question seriously the props of Brazilian society, Catholicism and monarchy, slavery and landlordism. Positivism failed because Miguel Lemos and Teixeira Mendes gave it a "fundamentally religious" and dictatorial cast when Brazil was becoming both anticlerical and liberal. Cruz Costa implies that the adepts of Spencer and Haeckel, Tobias Barreto for example, as well as the positivists, were verbose iconoclasts so mesmerized by European models that they neglected Brazilian reality. Yet there were original thinkers among the generation of 1868, one liberal and the other conservative, who in the "Transition from One to Another Epoch" served as intellectual bridges between the colonial and neocolonial past and the twentieth century. Silvio Romero, a discriminating and pragmatic nativist, scanned European philosophical currents for those appropriate to a Brazilian context; Farias Brito withdrew from politics into his own world, becoming a pessimistic metaphysician "thirsting for order" and religious certainty as the Brazilian republic in its first two decades corroded the optimism of many supporters.

In "The Twentieth Century, First Part," Cruz Costa emphasizes political rather than philosophical currents as Brazilians formed a republic amid the cross-currents of monoculture and patriarchalism, of nascent industrialism and immigration. He sketches in turn the archetype of "essentially practical" politician, Rui Barbosa, the radical and conservative elements of the constituent assembly, and the "citizen-soldiers" of the army who represented the middle class. Euclides da Cunha appeared at this time to remind Brazilians of their neglected citizens of the

interior, and he emerges as a precursor of the cultural nationalism burgeoning in the works of Graça Aranha and Jackson de Figueiredo in the decade following the First World War ("The Twentieth Century, Second Part"). Lack of perspective, according to Cruz Costa, makes analysis of developments since the "military political" revolution of 1930 inappropriate now. He concludes that it is difficult to judge satisfactorily whether Brazil's extensive "pragmatic," "eclectic," and often "contradictory" borrowing from Europe has led to imitation or deformation.

This brief study suffers the defects of most abridgments: provocative generalizations and periodization grow out of truncated analysis. It is difficult to decide whether the statement that the Brazilian intellectual's fate is the "absence of a connection with . . . the life of the people" is a thesis or conclusion; some may take issue with the use of the term pragmatism in the Brazilian context. Despite the absence of bibliography and index, its scholarly citation of sources and publication in Spanish should stimulate a wide audience to inspect its rewarding progenitor, Cruz Costa's *Contribuição*.

Princeton University

STANLEY J. STEIN

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

Books

General History

THE POVERTY OF HISTORICISM. By *Karl R. Popper*. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1957. Pp. xiv, 166. \$4.00.) Originally published in article form in the *Economica*, this book is an ambitious and sometimes provocative attack upon historicism in both its antinaturalistic and pronaturalistic forms, upon the notion that historical study is so unique as to deserve a special epistemology all its own, and upon the notion that there are scientific laws of historical development and that on the basis of these laws "historical predictions" are possible. Popper remains unaffected by talk about historical intuition and by the claim that one cannot understand parts of a culture without comprehending the whole. Popper's awareness of how "holistic" or total views of man's estate tend to become totalitarian has been sharpened by his hostility toward Marxism and Fascism, but we wonder if all historicists are *necessarily* totalitarian as Popper seems to think. We also wonder if Popper can easily reconcile his belief in the unity of method in the natural and social sciences with his conviction that historical study can by its very nature never have its Newton, that historical trends, for instance, must never be confused with historical laws. History might "teach" us that Popper is right where Newtons are concerned, but I do not think that his distinction between laws and trends is very clear. It seems to proceed from a curious and rather negative way of looking at scientific laws in general; Popper seems unduly impressed by the fact that they can be formulated in such a way as to say that "such and such a thing cannot happen." To Popper this means that in social science you can have laws like this—"You cannot have full employment without inflation"—but that ordinarily you cannot have laws which enable you to know the future states of society more positively, since such states depend to some extent upon knowledge which is not yet known. Doubtless we cannot predict the content of knowledge we do not yet possess; but the reviewer, without wishing to appear facetious, must inquire whether we can know what we cannot know or do in the future with any greater certainty and whether it is not perhaps harder to know beforehand the things we cannot know or do, since such knowledge must depend upon an ignorance or inability that we cannot be sure will last forever. Actually Popper, in conceding that in society as in science "certain developments will take place under certain conditions," is not so far from the historicist ideas of induction or prophecy as he imagines, and the same holds true for his discussion of social technology where he rejects the "total planning" favored by some historicists for "piecemeal engineering." Instead of one big bridge Popper would have us build many little bridges as the need arises, but both views presuppose that we know at least something about the course and the nature of the stream we wish to cross. Here the "poverty" of historicism is hard to distinguish from the "poverty" of Popper or any rational man. Nevertheless, Popper's book deserves to be read by all historians interested in method.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

BURLEIGH TAYLOR WILKINS

DIE WIENER KONGRESS UND DAS VÖLKERRECHT. By *Robert Rie*. (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag. 1957. Pp. 173. DM 14.50.) This useful addition to the monographic literature on the Congress of Vienna, while meant primarily for students

of international law, contains much of interest to the diplomatic historian. The author regards the participants as "children of the eighteenth century, reared in the atmosphere of natural law." They were not inspired by vindictiveness but set up, rather, "*das Ideal eines lange dauernden Friedens und eines geordneten Europa*." This ideal of a stable Europe, rather than any academic dependence upon principles of "public law," set the tone of the Congress, which Dr. Rie credits with substantial success. He has an elaborate discussion of the elusive problem of "legitimacy." What constitutes "legitimacy"? Most European states had made definitive treaties with Napoleonic France; Austria had a marriage alliance; and as late as February, 1814, the allies seemed disposed to continue to recognize Napoleon. The very senate that voted to recall the Bourbons was a Napoleonic creation. The discussion goes down to the time of the Second Treaty of Paris (November, 1815), which the author calls an offense against all juristic logic, since the French government had done nothing to forfeit the terms of 1814. He deals at length with the issues, legal and practical, involved in the Polish-Saxon question. He has a substantial discussion of the problem of the balance of power, which does not, however, provide the insights to be found in E. V. Gulick's admirable *Europe's Classical Balance of Power* (1955). There is also a discussion of the declaration against the slave trade, the rights of the German Jews, the problem of navigation on international rivers, and the constitution of the German Confederation, all of which showed a growing sense of European responsibility. The author could also have dealt with the failure to obtain a general guarantee of the work of the Congress. He has made good use of the published documents in the well-known Angeberg collection as well as others from archival sources. Although he could have brought into sharper focus the purposeful role of Castlereagh in seeking a "just equilibrium" and although he does not seem to have used K. Griewank's recent *Der Wiener Kongress* (rev. ed., 1954), his monograph can be characterized as substantial and important.

Wheaton College

ERNEST JOHN KNAPTON

THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRY DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: A STUDY OF THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF APPLIED CHEMISTRY IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA. By L. F. Haber. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 292. \$7.20.) The chemical industry as such took shape at the end of the eighteenth century with the invention of the lead-chamber process for the manufacture of sulphuric acid, Leblanc's discovery of an economical method for making artificial soda, and the development of new bleaching materials. A host of minor improvements and discoveries accompanied the expansion of the industry, but no other major advances in technology occurred until the second half of the nineteenth century, when artificial dyestuffs made their appearance and the ammonia soda process replaced Leblanc's method. In terms of national significance, France had the largest and most diversified industry at the beginning of the century; Britain overtook France by about 1840, due to the larger demand of its chemical using industries, especially textiles; but before the end of the century Germany surpassed them both after acclimatizing and virtually monopolizing the artificial dyestuffs trade. Wisely concentrating on these major branches of an extremely complex and diverse industry, the author (who is the son of the discoverer of the process for the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen) has produced a relatively brief but scholarly and well-balanced account that emphasizes the international aspects of the industry in a way that no series of monographs on national industries can do. He focuses primarily on industrial processes and economic organization but provides enough of the scientific and technical background to give proper perspective. Chapters on chemical manufacturers and workers are also included, thus rounding out the pic-

ture. The British and German industries receive more detailed treatment than the others, but this can easily be justified on the grounds of their greater importance. France, Switzerland, Belgium, and the United States get moderate coverage, and there is briefer mention of the Austrian and Russian empires. One might wish for more details on the sources of raw materials and on the chemical using industries, but that is probably asking too much from a volume already so compact. The author has used a wide variety and great number of sources, all published. His select bibliography of some five hundred items will be of considerable value to other scholars in this and related areas. The volume is well indexed and handsomely printed. Altogether, it is a valuable contribution to the industrial history of the nineteenth century.

University of Wisconsin

RONDO E. CAMERON

WORLD SERVICE: A HISTORY OF THE FOREIGN WORK AND WORLD SERVICE OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. By *Kenneth Scott Latourette*. (New York: Association Press. 1957. Pp. xiv, 15-489. \$5.00.) This volume by the Sterling Professor of Missions and Oriental History, Emeritus, of Yale University, the author of the authoritative *History of the Expansion of Christianity* and many other volumes, past president of the American Historical Association, and long associated with the YMCA, is a veritable source book on the world service of the YMCA's of the United States and Canada in their first century. It is, furthermore, an inspiring record for YMCA leaders, for whom it is apparently primarily written. The author starts out with a kaleidoscopic review of the revolutionary century into which the YMCA was born out of the Evangelical Awakening. This is a bit staggering when compressed into five pages! He shows how the Foreign Work, later World Service, of the YMCA's came out of the Student Associations, the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, and the Mount Hermon Student Conferences, all committed to "the evangelization of the world in this generation." Every country in the world in which the Associations served is treated, including European countries after World War I. The major countries are introduced by admirable chapters giving the historical setting, such as chapter XII, "Serving in Revolutionary China." It is made clear that the YMCA's worked steadily with the church missions, adjusted themselves to internal developments, and trained a corps of nationals for leadership in indigenous associations (for example, Y. C. James Yen in China, K. T. Paul in India, and Syngman Rhee in Korea). Vitalizing and humanizing these pages are some of the great names in the annals of the foreign work of the YMCA's: John R. Mott, Luther D. Wishard, Robert P. Wilder, Sherwood Eddy, Fletcher S. Brockman, Darius A. Davis, Walter W. Gethman, Galen M. Fisher, Max Yergan, and others. These are names to conjure with in what the author calls "one of the most remarkable expressions of the vitality of Christianity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries." This volume constitutes an important chapter in the history of the Christian outreach of dynamic North Americans in a period of zeal and optimism, finally chastened and altered by two world wars. It is well documented, sometimes staccato in style, too compressed and too larded with names for smooth reading, but a mine of information for all.

Macalester College

HUNTLEY DUPRE

LA LIGNE CURZON ET LA II^e GUERRE MONDIALE. By *Romain Yakemtchouk*. (Louvain: Éditions Nauwelaerts. 1957. Pp. 135. 125 fr. B.) The index of a widely used survey of Western civilization lists one entry for Lord Curzon, and it is for the proposed eastern border of Poland. One wonders what that proud man would have said to any-

one suggesting that his fame might be tied only to this incident in his career. Yakemtchouk has traced the fate of Poland's eastern border in the diplomacy of the powers from 1938 to 1945; his suggestion that contemporary history is a "kind of geography in perpetual motion" is particularly applicable to this topic. The author has succeeded in producing a useful, though hardly distinguished, account; his exposition is clear and thoughtful. Beginning with the discussions over Soviet intervention in the Czech crisis of 1938, Yakemtchouk threads his way through the negotiations of 1939 and the partition of Poland by Germany and the Soviet Union. The analysis of the inter-Allied discussions over the eastern border of Poland after June 22, 1941, is well done and appropriately related to the developments in the military situation. With some other writers, Yakemtchouk reproaches General Sikorski for refusing to discuss the boundary question in Moscow in December, 1941; beyond this, the author generally tends to blame the Polish government-in-exile for much of the misfortune that befell Poland. This view permeates the book and in some cases—the account of the Warsaw uprising, for example—is certainly carried too far. Some errors should be noted: Molotov and Potemkin did not attend the League meeting in May, 1939; German pressure for Soviet entry into Poland in 1939 was motivated by hopes not of sharing responsibility for the war but of finishing the campaign—and thus possibly the whole war—quickly; the importance of Sumner Welles is overstated. Other assertions also could be questioned (for example, on pages 22, 44, 103). The author has used a wide variety of published sources in Western and Slavic languages; there is a bibliography but no index.

University of Kentucky

GERHARD L. WEINBERG

Ancient and Medieval History

GREECE BEFORE HOMER: ANCIENT CHRONOLOGY AND MYTHOLOGY. By *John Forsdyke*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1957. Pp. 176. \$4.50.) "The purpose of this book is to explore the process by which prehistoric narratives were adopted in historical Greek literature and elaborated with realistic details of genealogy and chronology," states the author. The rather vague "prehistoric narratives" may be misleading for, in fact, Forsdyke is primarily concerned with showing that, outside of an undeterminable historical core in Homer, virtually nothing in Greek literature has any claim to be a genuine tradition dating back to pre-Homeric, or even Homeric, times. Such a critical survey is timely now that the believers in a continuity between Mycenaean and historical Greece seem to have been so spectacularly vindicated by the decipherment of Mycenaean writing as Greek. But the differences between the two worlds are probably more significant than the similarities, and Forsdyke is undoubtedly right in insisting on how little the later Greeks knew of their prehistoric past. His chapters on "Mythical Asiatics" and "Cyclic Characters" are particularly good. His concluding remarks are sobering: "Archaeological discovery may throw light upon the legends, but the use of legendary statements for historical interpretation of material records is a reversal of proper procedure." The chapter on Homer, where alone we may expect some genuine tradition, is the least satisfactory. Though Forsdyke speaks of an "oral epos" prior to Homer, he seems unaware of the valuable work that has been done on the fundamentally oral and formulaic nature of Homeric poetry. One can gather only incidentally what he conceives the "Achaian" or "heroic period" to have been—evidently a post-Mycenaean, pre-Dorian period, living off a higher civilization not its own. There may be much in this, but it deserves a less sketchy treatment; perhaps

Forsdyke will return to it in the two further volumes on archaeology and language mentioned by the publishers. One may, however, doubt the book's value for the non-specialist audience for whom it is intended (it is completely unannotated), because its results are so largely, and properly, negative and its style so regrettably bare and disjointed. One could wish for a more contentious approach with the argument clearly stated throughout.

University of Pennsylvania

MICHAEL H. JAMESON

THE PUBLIC PHYSICIANS OF ANCIENT GREECE. By *Louis Cohn-Haft*. [Smith College Studies in History, Volume XLII.] (Northampton, Mass.: Department of History of Smith College. 1956. Pp. x, 91. \$1.50.) The negative thesis is admirably presented—that we have no evidence for a Greek public health service in pre-Roman days in the independent Greek city-states. The positive conclusions, tentatively offered, are chiefly these: that many cities, because of the shortage of competent physicians, offered a stipend to induce a good doctor to remain there, or to attract one from outside; that most cities had no more than one “public” physician but that Athens and Cos were exceptions, Athens because of her continued importance, Cos because of her unusual supply of trained physicians. The author promises separate articles on topics left out here, including the medical services in various Hellenistic kingdoms and the subject of military medicine. They will be welcome and perhaps should have preceded the present study. The evidence is chiefly Hellenistic, and it may be doubted whether it is safe to generalize on the Greek cities considered separately for this period. It is a little disturbing to find the author citing Diodorus on “the physicians of Ptolemaic Egypt” in a passage from Book I, in which Diodorus is ostensibly dealing only with the Pharaonic period. Granting that he does in fact include Ptolemaic material the context is such as to raise grave doubts that he is doing so here. The present study will be widely read and used. The bibliography and the appendix are excellent.

University of California, Los Angeles

TRUESDELL S. BROWN

TIMAEUS OF TAUROMENIUM. By *Truesdell S. Brown*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume LV.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1958. Pp. vii, 165. \$3.50.) Among the many services of Jacoby's monumental *Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* has been that of encouraging attempts to recover something of the methods and the mentality of the many important historians whose works survive from antiquity only in fragments or quotations, or as the actual or assumed sources of later writers. Our west coast has proved congenial for such studies, and Professor Brown himself is no novice in the field, having published a number of monographs on individual historians, including a full-dress discussion of the Onesicritus who accompanied Alexander the Great and even one study of the western Greek historian Timaeus, to whom this volume is devoted. In contrast to Richard Laqueur, whose article in the 1936 volume of the *Real-Encyclopädie* is the last extensive treatment of the historian, Brown has not attempted to recover Timaeus' history but his personality and historiography. He groups his discussion in chronological divisions: the colonial period, the sixth and fifth centuries, and the span from Dionysius the Elder to Agathocles. Brown's treatment of things tends to center inevitably about the largest fragments but is sensible and sober. His handling of the Bull of Phalaris as a garbled recollection of Phoenician religious practices is eminently reasonable. And Timaeus emerges from his study as learned, accurate, and frequently passionate, the man to whom we owe much of our knowledge of those rather neglected people, the western Greeks. It is well to remember, also, that Timaeus was regarded as the first historian of Rome. Polybius may have

been jealous of him as an author too popular with Roman scholars, notably (we may assume) Cato the Censor. "Anyone who possesses a Herodotean curiosity about anything and everything that has happened to people in the past will find Timaeus to his liking."

Yale University

C. BRADFORD WELLES

ROM UND RHODOS: GESCHICHTE IHRER POLITISCHEN BEZIEHUNGEN SEIT DER ERSTEN BERÜHRUNG BIS ZUM AUFGEHEN DES INSELSTAATES IM RÖMISCHEN WELTREICH. By *Hatto H. Schmitt*. [Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, 40. Heft.] (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1957. Pp. xv, 223. DM 22.50.) This monograph was accepted as the author's dissertation at the University of Munich in 1955, after which it was augmented and restudied with an eye to its present publication. The topic was suggested by Professor Bengtson, who read the manuscript in its final form. Schmitt's purpose is not only to bring up to date, augment, and correct the previous works of H. van Gelder and Hiller von Gaertringen but also to show that the first official contact between Rhodes and Rome may be pushed back to the end of the fourth century before Christ. The result is a stimulating and scholarly account of Rhodian political history from about 306 B.C. to that island's final submersion in the turbulent waters of the Roman world empire in the third and fourth centuries after Christ. Schmitt has wisely limited himself to political history. I would like to say, above all else, that Schmitt not only succeeds in his purpose—almost every page bears witness to his careful study of the sources and exhibits a refreshing independence of judgment—but presents his views in a straightforward fashion that makes the book easy to read. One is always sure where the author stands on any controversial point, and there are many of them in Rhodian history: the Rhodian role in the operations against the Illyrian pirates, the chronology of Rhodian attempts at mediation between the Aetolian League and Philip V, the nature of the treaty made between Rome and Rhodes in 164 B.C., and many others. Incidentally, it became increasingly clear to the reviewer just how loyal Rhodes remained to Rome, despite her bad treatment, and how she must have appeared to the rest of the Greek world as a true champion of Hellenic freedom in some difficult years, for the author has illustrated these points well. The opening chapter contains the most original material in the book—an attempt to show that friendly relations were established between Rhodes and Rome about 306 B.C. Although there are certain details which might be criticized, I believe Schmitt's view is essentially correct. The rise of Rhodes to her envious position of prosperity and prestige by about 188–168 B.C., her subsequent falling-out with Rome, the loss of her small empire, the deathblow to her economy by the declaration of Delos as a free port, the final degradation dealt her by Rome, the planting of a Roman garrison on her soil, and the final confiscation of her navy are the essential features of Rhodian history after her contact with Rome. By working his way through these events and by examining the causes and results, the reader will soon see graphically the nature of the decline of the Hellenistic world and the steady growth of Rome to a position of supremacy. This is, as the author himself points out, one very good reason for studying Rhodian history, and students of the period will do well to keep it in mind.

University of Maine

ROBERT K. SHERK

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PALAEOGRAPHY OF LATIN INSCRIPTIONS. By *Joyce S.* and *Arthur E. Gordon*. [University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology, Volume III, Number 3.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1957.

Pp. xii, 65-241. \$4.50.) The present work is the outgrowth of the authors' *Album of Dated Latin Inscriptions*, Part I (*Rome and the Neighborhood, Augustus to Nerva*), now in press. It uses chiefly the material in the *Album*, but also pre-Augustan and post-Nervan items, especially some in the authors' own collection of photographs and squeezes of inscriptions now in Rome and datable between A.D. 98 and 500. The term "palaeography" (properly the field which studies pen-and-ink writing on parchment and papyrus, for the most part) is here employed to mean "criteria for dating." Among the criteria studied are *common* script, shading, module (the relative height and breadth of letters), *ductus* (the order and direction of strokes), letter forms, horizontal strokes and serifs, apexes, arrangement, *cos.* for *consul*, guidelines, ligatures, line heights, numerals, punctuation, short letters (except in *cos.*), tall *I* and other tall letters, and the division of words at the ends of lines. The work is in general a pioneering one. Little had previously been done from 1885, when Emil Hübner published his monumental classification of inscriptions and scripts and illustrated them by drawings, until the last two decades, when John Mallon, Robert Marichal, and others attempted to reveal how palaeography and epigraphy were dependent upon one another. Hübner's terminology, classification, and drawings were not completely satisfactory. Accurate information and good photographs were simply not available in his time, and of course many new inscriptions have come to light since 1885. Mallon's work and that of others, moreover, is disappointing and not always clear. As one would expect from their previous studies, the authors have labored conscientiously. They have used their sources well, organized their material logically, and expressed themselves with precision. As they themselves point out, however, many of their criteria are based on slight or negative evidence and should be regarded as tentative until checked against the evidence of additional dated or datable inscriptions, which should be studied regionally. While certain large trends are already clear, distinctions like that between late Republican and Augustan and between middle and late are not easy to make. Despite these limitations the work is a solid achievement. Epigraphists will find it invaluable; palaeographers will profit by it; historians will discover much of interest.

Berkeley, California

LESLIE W. JONES

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHT IN BYZANTIUM FROM JUSTINIAN I TO THE LAST PALAEOLOGUS: PASSAGES FROM BYZANTINE WRITERS AND DOCUMENTS. Translated with an introduction and notes by *Ernest Barker*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xvi, 239. \$4.80.) This is a collection of passages in English drawn from a variety of narrative and documentary Greek sources designed to illustrate the social and political thought of the Byzantines. The collection covers the period from the accession of Justinian to the capture of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1453, and is divided into four parts, with chronology as the basis of division. The passages selected cover a variety of subjects, but those dealing with kingship and relations between church and state predominate. For the Byzantines these, indeed, were the most vital and meaningful subjects. Besides the selected passages there are two introductory chapters, which the translator himself contributed. In the first of these he analyzes the various factors—intellectual, social, institutional, and historical—which, in his opinion, prevented the Byzantines from making original contributions to political thought. Admittedly the Byzantines did have a vital political ideology, and if they maintained it to the end that was only because they never lost faith in it, although they did not fail to modify it when circumstances demanded. In the second chapter he dwells at length on the nature, extent, and limits of imperial power, the character of Byzantine culture—in his view Byzantium was not an oriental but a

Western society—and the relations between church and state. He rightly follows the recent trend of deemphasizing the role of Caesaropapism in Byzantium.

Rutgers University

PETER CHARANIS

DEUTSCHLANDS GESCHICHTSQUELLEN IM MITTELALTER: VORZEIT UND KAROLINGER. III. Heft, DIE KAROLINGER VOM TODE KARLS DES GROSSEN BIS ZUM VERTRAG VON VERDUN. By *Wattenbach-Levison*. Revised by *Heinz Löwe*. (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger. 1957. Pp. 296–382. DM 3.20.) The new edition of Wattenbach progresses with gratifying speed and the present installment, like its predecessors, is a model of careful revision. It extends from the death of Charlemagne to the Treaty of Verdun in 843, but a final section is devoted to the Frankish Empire in Byzantine sources, Spain to the end of the ninth century, and the Anglo-Saxon world under Alfred. This volume brings out well how the influence of Alcuin and Anglo-Saxons declined under Louis the Pious, many of whose advisers were from the south of France or from Spain. On the other hand, the period is rather lacking in writers of rank, and we look forward to the early publication of Volume IV, which will contain such names as Wahlafrid (in his later life at Reichenau), Servatus Lupus, John the Scot, and Notker. The bibliographical references are impressively full, but a few additions may be suggested. The most recent discussion of Leningrad MS F.I.IIA is in Walter Jacob's monograph on the manuscripts of Cassiodorus' *Historia Tripartita* (Texte und Untersuchungen for 1955). To the books on Spanish manuscripts and libraries should be added C. U. Clark, *Collectanea Hispanica* (1920); though relatively old, this book is still indispensable. In the Anglo-Saxon part, we miss N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (London, 1941), and D. J. V. Fisher's article in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1952). Fisher justifiably takes issue with the generally current view that there was a great intellectual decline in England between Alcuin and Alfred.

Cornell University

M. L. W. LAISTNER

DAS OTTONISCHE KAISERTUM IN DER FRANZÖSISCHEN GESCHICHTS-SCHREIBUNG DES 10. UND BEGINNENDEN 11. JAHRHUNDERTS. By *Gian Andri Bezzola*. [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Band XVIII.] (Cologne: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger. 1956. Pp. 212. DM 14.80.) The attitude of seven leading French writers toward the revival of the imperial idea by German kings, their contemporaries across the Rhine, is the central theme of this thought provoking, well-written book. But there is a further motivation on the part of Dr. Bezzola. He wants to show his contemporaries of the mid-twentieth century an example from the past of an idea seeking expression in reality. The book is an excellent illustration of an effort to determine "climate of opinion" on a question of vast portent for the period chosen. The forms of writing were quite varied. Flodoard of Rheims used annals and histories; so did Richer of St. Remy and Dudo of St. Quentin. Flodoard also used saints' legends as did Adso of Montier-en-Der and Abbo of Fleury. Polemics and apologetics were employed by Abbo and Adalbero of Laon, scientific essays by Abbo, Gerbert, and Adalbero. Letters were used by Abbo and Gerbert. Certain writings contain important philosophical discussions. Best known, perhaps, is the tendency of the age toward a revival of the ancient universal Christian imperial tradition. The effort to translate this idea into reality is best represented by the redoubtable Gerbert of Aurillac and Rheims, the future Pope Sylvester II (999–1003), and by Adso of Montier-en-Der. Though Adso's thinking was charged with eschatological foreboding, both men strove mightily to bring about a Christian universal

empire. To Gerbert the answer to the riddle lay in a union of Roman political will and Christian faith. He longed for a return of the days of Constantine, to a peace sustained by "the two heads of the Christian hierarchy, the Emperor and the Pope." Another tendency, the West-Frankish-Carolingian tradition, took various forms in the works of Abbo of Fleury, Adalbero of Laon, Richer of St. Remy, and Dudo of St. Quentin. Abbo and Adalbero saw Charlemagne as the forerunner of the new French monarchs. The empire of the Ottonian dynasty was to their thinking merely the contemporary German government. Rome, to be sure, was important as the traditional center of the universal Church, but the city of martyrs had lost its antique heritage of universal secular power. To Richer, only France seemed of contemporary political significance. Dudo went even further in narrowing his perspective to the great dukes of Normandy of his day. To Dudo, the *rex Franciae* was less than his Norman vassal; the Saxon kings were on the periphery of things. In Germany, too, there was no unanimity of sentiment in support of the new Ottonian imperium. Widukind of Corvey remained a Saxon patriot to the end of his life. Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim was already "romantically remembering the sunken Imperium Romanum." Bruno of Querfurt was as outspoken against the imperial policy of Otto III as Liutprand of Cremona had been enthusiastic in his loyal support of Otto I. Only time would permit the development of the concept of imperial continuity altogether apart from the person of the suzerain who was the chief feudal lord in the Germanies. Conrad II well expressed the new idea in 1025 when he rejected the plea of the city of Pavia that the death of the Emperor Henry II had released them from their obligations to the monarchy. As reported by Wipo, Conrad's chaplain, the king said: "Si rex periit, regnum remansit, sicut navis remanet cuius gubernator cadit." The author demonstrates how a thesis can be constructed from materials for the most part in print, indeed largely in Migne's great *Patrologia Latina*. Americans, especially those who think the medieval field too difficult because of inaccessibility of primary materials, might well reconsider their choice of field when they appreciate better the vast number of topics still awaiting the interested student of the history of ideas. Bezzola has shown that such a topic can be most interestingly handled. For readability, timeliness of theme, and soundness of method his book is an earnest of a promising career in scholarship.

Göttingen, Germany

GEORGE BINGHAM FOWLER

I FEUDI IMPERIALI DEL TORTONESE (SEC. XI-XIX). By *Alessandra Sisto*. [Università di Torino, Pubblicazioni della facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Volume VIII, Fascicolo 5.] (Turin: University of Turin. 1956. Pp. 227. L. 1,200.) Historians, since the advent of the present century, have evidenced an interest in the history of the northern Italian imperial fiefs as an illustration of medieval structures that coexisted with the modern state and disturbed its aspirations toward political and administrative unity. These dominions, situated *in terra imperii*, were essentially rural monarchies that escaped the juridical authority of neighboring states, as *fideles imperii*, and demonstrated an amazing resistance toward repeated attempts by the republic of Genoa, the duchy of Milan, and the state of Piedmont to effectuate their annexation. Basing the work upon unpublished documents from Italian and Austrian archives, the author traces the history of certain feudatories in the district of Tortona from their first investiture by Frederick Barbarossa to their ultimate disposition by the victorious powers at Vienna in 1815, paralleling the studies of Salvatore Pugliese and Cesare Magni and concentrating energy on a description of the politics of certain families who, as *fideles imperii*, sought to preserve their immunities, privileges, and prerogatives against the pretensions of their adversaries during an era that spanned seven centuries. The struggles of these

petty feudatories are placed within the context of Italian diplomatic history. This ambitious work remains fundamentally narrative and descriptive, seeking to chronicle rather than to analyze the events under consideration. Given the author's objectives, this is certainly a legitimate approach. It is to be hoped, however, that this useful archivistic synthesis will serve as a basis for further inquiry. Aside from an analysis of the socio-economic foundations of these rural monarchies, there remains the unanswered question of why these feudatories had no conception of the rights of their order and of the prerogatives of the community of vassals. Why did they, unlike their Teutonic counterparts, personalize their relationships with an emperor whose authority, according to their judgment, had its origins in the imperial will and its benevolent manifestations? The questions raised by the reviewer in no way detract from the author's accomplishments. A useful and reliable synthesis of materials has been achieved within the extended temporal limits set by the author.

Western Reserve University

MARVIN B. BECKER

FACSIMILES OF ENGLISH ROYAL WRITS TO A.D. 1100 PRESENTED TO VIVIAN HUNTER GALBRAITH. Edited by *T. A. M. Bishop* and *P. Chaplais*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xxiv, 80, 30 plates. \$7.20.) Professor Galbraith has devoted his career to the study of the source materials for the history of medieval England and has produced extremely valuable commentaries on contemporary chronicles. For some years he has been engaged in a meticulous study of Domesday Book which may well revise our interpretation of that important document. He has also had a deep interest in the forms and methods used by the royal chancery. As it is generally believed that the letters close and patent of the Angevin period originated in the writs of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, these writs are of vital interest to students of the early medieval chancery. In this book Mr. Bishop and Mr. Chaplais present in facsimiles all the known original writs earlier than the reign of Henry I with transcriptions and extensive commentaries. The introduction supplies an explanation of the value of the documents and the critical techniques employed in deciding their authenticity. There is also a bibliography of the works of Galbraith. The book is a fitting tribute to one of our most distinguished medievalists.

Johns Hopkins University

SIDNEY PAINTER

MEDIEVAL ENGLAND: AN AERIAL SURVEY. By *M. W. Beresford* and *J. K. S. St. Joseph*. [Cambridge Air Surveys, Number 2.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. xiii, 274. \$8.50.) The oblique aerial photograph describes with unequaled clarity the details of a complex landscape. In this book its power is combined with documentary evidence for each of 111 photographs of interest for the economic history of medieval and Tudor England. To be sure, the photograph has limitations—"It can show the Pilgrims Way but no company of pilgrims." Without pressing the camera too far, the authors invoke its convincing record when studying open fields, villages, towns, and industrial remains. Comparing their photographs with medieval "extents" and Tudor surveys, the authors demonstrate, among other things, that the open-field system spread as far north as the Yorkshire Wolds; that subsequent depopulation and enclosure resulted in hedge boundaries now astride older field arrangements; that open-field strips were commonly no more than a quarter or a third of an acre; and that grassy "balks" between strips were exceptional. Wherever evidence points to other conclusions, it is fairly considered. Two propositions, however, the authors seem determined to silence: first, that observable "ridge and furrow" is "the

result of fairly recent ploughing"; and, second, that "every English town with the possible exception of London, has grown out of a village." Spirited discussions of plough marks and planned towns make some of the best reading in the commentaries. It is possible to study from the air the siting of villages and how they grew, migrated, or decayed, as well as the variety of village plans and complex relations with castle, monastery, or manor. All of this the authors explain in a clear, readable style brightened by occasional touches of grim humor. One example cannot stand for all, but no reader should miss the account of Great Gransden, which took particular care of its boundaries; by long-standing custom a village Rogation Week ceremony "ordered that the vicar should be held upside down at one point with his head in a water hole." Clearly demonstrated is the utility of military defenses, particularly on the Welsh and Scottish borders, where wall and moat meant more than a display of wealth; residents of such a town as Berwick had many opportunities to test the strength of their fortifications. Readers familiar with Dom David Knowles's *Monastic Sites from the Air*, the first volume in this series, will not be disappointed by the second. In fact, this combination of air photograph and sound commentary should establish a pattern valuable for many historical subjects.

Indiana University

ARTHUR R. HOGUE

ALFONS X. VON KASTILIEN: EIN UNGEKRÖNTER DEUTSCHER KÖNIG. By *Wilhelm Freiherr von Schoen*. (Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann, 1957. Pp. 111. DM 8.50.) Alfonso X of Castile has not always been treated sympathetically by German scholars, and the present work attempts, on the whole successfully, to redress the balance. A brief survey of Germany and Castile in the thirteenth century provides a historical backdrop for a succinct presentation of the king in his various capacities of lawgiver, poet and troubadour, scholar and patron of learning, and candidate to the throne of the Holy Roman Empire. The last topic bulks large and gives the author small opportunity to do justice to the intellectual history of the reign. Yet an analysis of the conflicting schools of thought and policy at the Alfonsine court goes far to explain the unsettled and opportunistic character of Castilian foreign policy under Alfonso. Raymundo de Losana, archbishop of Seville, favored the traditional policy of expansion at the expense of the Muslims of Granada and North Africa. Alfonso's tutor Jacome Ruiz, Italian by birth and a graduate of Bologna, embodied the rising Romano-imperial influence at court and unwaveringly advocated Alfonso's candidature to the throne of the Empire. The confusion and dispersion of effort engendered by the attempt to conduct these policies gave the reign the imprint of futility and slowed the impetus of the *Reconquista*. Alfonso's financial resources, for example, were not equal to the double strain of subsidizing support for his candidature in Germany and Italy and constructing a powerful navy to carry the Christian counteroffensive into North Africa. Hence the union of Spain and the Empire in the same hand was deferred until 1519, when the Habsburg Charles V inherited the double task that had baffled Alfonso: the establishment of an effective authority in Germany and the neutralization of Muslim power in North Africa. This is an *oeuvre de vulgarisation* of high merit. The author has not ignored the printed sources, admittedly scanty for Alfonso's reign, and has exploited the secondary accounts with industry and discrimination. The following items should be added to the bibliography: G. Daumet, *Mémoire sur les relations de la France et de la Castille, 1255-1320* (Paris, 1913); J. Beneyto-Perez, *España y el problema de Europa: Contribución a la historia de la idea de Imperio* (Madrid, 1942); J. Perez, *Alfonso X el Sabio* (Madrid, 1944); P. Bernadou, *Alfonse le Savant* (Geneva,

1949); and A. Saitta, "Un problema storiografico: L'impero spagnolo medievale," *Archivio storico italiano*, LIV (1954), 240-85, 377-409.

McGill University

C. C. BAYLEY

LES "ESTIMES" TOULOUSAINES DES XIV^e ET XV^e SIÈCLES. By *Philippe Wolff*. [Documents d'Histoire Méridionale.] (Toulouse: Bibliothèque de l'Association Marc Bloch. 1956. Pp. 333. 1,200 fr.) From the thirteenth century on, some southern French towns kept lists of property valuations for the assessment of individual taxpayers—the *estimes*. In Toulouse, for each taxpayer, the list identified and valued separately each item of real property and recorded a total estimate for personal property. Very few *estimes* survive, particularly for the period before 1400. This publication gives those extant for Toulouse: a considerable fragment (most of the *Bourg*) for 1335 and much smaller remnants from 1391 and 1459. In addition to giving us a solid edition of a very rare type of text, Professor Wolff has thoroughly analyzed the material, not only from the standpoint of its evidence on problems of local taxation but also for the light it throws on the social and economic structure of Toulouse. Given the paucity of the records, the number and scope of the conclusions drawn from them are impressive: among many others, that a large part of the assessed property of Toulouse citizens consisted of holdings in rural areas; that although wealth appears to have been relatively concentrated, the society of Toulouse in the fourteenth century offered many opportunities for artisans to reach modest fortune and higher social status; and that the *estimes* confirm and help explain other indications that Toulouse escaped the severe social conflicts of Flemish or Italian towns. The differences between the valuation lists of 1335 and the later fragments suggest many correlations with the results of disease, military pressures, and administrative troubles during the Hundred Years' War. Confidence in conclusions suggested from such fragmentary statistics is given by the critical rigor of the analysis and the cautious scrutiny of all inferences. This text and commentary can and should serve as models of how much evidence can be distilled from scanty materials carefully used. But only a master of the fields of social and economic history could give this evidence its full value, as is done here, by relating it to the broad background of local and regional development. Few texts have been edited and used to better advantage for medieval studies than this one by Wolff.

Harvard University

CHARLES H. TAYLOR

MOTIVES OF WEST RUSSIAN NOBLES IN DESERTING LITHUANIA FOR MOSCOW, 1377-1514. By *Oswald Prentiss Backus*. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1957. Pp. 174. \$5.00.) This highly specialized monograph deserves particular attention first as an American contribution to the history of the old Grand-Duchy of Lithuania. Professor Backus, however, undertook his painstaking research work with a view to contributing rather to the history of Russia "in an attempt to ascertain the impact of minority peoples upon Russian institutions and ideas." Furthermore, he started under a strong influence of Russian historiography, as evidenced by his terminology, his spelling of non-Russian names, and the very title of his book, which seems to admit in advance that there was in Lithuania for well over one hundred years, including the times of her greatest power, a regular movement of "desertions," because the "West Russian nobles" of the Grand-Duchy preferred to be under Moscow's rule. Under the impression that these desertions must have been motivated by some discrimination against the nobles of Russian origin and Orthodox religion, the author devoted most of his book to detailed investigations into the administrative structure of what he calls

"the Lithuanian-Russian State," the land grants and privileges of the nobility, the position of the Orthodox church, and the appointments to local offices. In establishing his list of officeholders—an extremely difficult task—he would have avoided a great deal of confusion if he had checked his information against similar lists by J. Wolff (1885) and, particularly, A. Boniecki (1887). Even so, the decisive points, namely, the religion and origin of the individual dignitaries, would have remained uncertain in many cases. At any rate, most of the material collected in the first six chapters of the book proves irrelevant when in the rather brief final chapter Backus turns at last to his specific topic. Finding here the expected study of the individual cases of "desertion," the reader will be surprised to see that these cases were rather rare from 1378 to 1408, practically nonexistent during the following more than seventy years, and frequent only in the decade preceding the great Muscovite invasion of 1500. Also, it will be noticed that in the earlier phase the leading "deserters" were not at all "West Russian nobles" but princes of Lithuanian origin, some of them Catholics who resented the centralizing policy of the Grand-Dukes, while almost all the "defections" at the end of the century were limited to princes of the Upper Oka region, whose territories had never been an integral part of the Grand-Duchy (a fact which has not been indicated on the otherwise very valuable maps attached to the book) and who, in view of growing Muscovite pressure and inadequate Lithuanian defense, exercised what they considered their "right of free departure." In the only other two cases, decisive for Lithuania's defeat in 1500, she was abandoned by two members of the Muscovite ruling house whose fathers had deserted Moscow for Lithuania and who now "redefected" to their country of origin. In the wars of the following century the desertion, in 1507-1508, of Michael Glinzky, a Catholic Tartar prince, was an exceptional case with well-known personal motives. Desertions of Moscow for Lithuania became more frequent, the case of Prince A. A. Kurbsky being the most spectacular. Backus' conclusions are not too different, though he tries to qualify them by some hypothetical statements which, like many other points in his interesting book, would require a longer discussion.

Fordham University

O. HALECKI

HISTORY OF EGYPT, 1382-1469 A.D.: TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC ANNALS OF ABU L-MAḤASIN IBN TAGHRÎ BIRDÎ. Part III, 1412-1422 A.D. By William Popper. [University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, Volume XVII.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 176. \$3.50.) The first two volumes of this translation (see *AHR*, LXI [October, 1955], 108) were followed by two volumes of highly instructive "systematic notes" that constitute an excellent introduction to the intricacies of Mameluke administration. Now Popper has translated another ten-year period of the *History of Egypt*. The decade began with a strange spectacle: as the result of Mameluke rivalries, the puppet caliph in Cairo was made sultan, and he convinced himself that he was in actual control of affairs, only to be undeceived after a few short months. The decade ended with two brief and insignificant reigns. Most of it was occupied by the reign of al-Mu'ayyad. The author considers al-Mu'ayyad, in spite of undeniable moral blemishes, an able ruler and defends this view against the severe criticism of another historian. He does so expressly and by implication in the course of the historical presentation. Al-Mu'ayyad's reign was more than the usual round of appointments, dismissals, and squabbles of generals and officials. He reorganized the army, was active in public works and other building activities, and, to the delight of the author, took severe measures against Christian officeholders. He succeeded in alleviating a serious inflation by the simple expedient of proclaiming that "prices were in the hand of God" and establishing some mild price regulation. Most

effective, however, was the fact that he showed interest in his subjects, apparently a rare but, in the eyes of the author, most necessary and commendable virtue. One of the many obituary notices is devoted to the author's father who died when Ibn Taghrī Birdī was very young; it reveals a conflict in the author's soul between the prudence of the historian and official and the filial piety of the son. Like the preceding volumes, this one is valuable for the insight it affords us into the materials from which Islamic history must be reconstructed.

Yale University

FRANZ ROSENTHAL

Modern History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

SELECTED HISTORICAL ESSAYS OF F. W. MAITLAND. Chosen and introduced by *Helen M. Cam*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, in association with the Selden Society. 1957. Pp. xxix, 277. \$5.00.) This is the third collection of Maitland's writings to be published—all of them, appropriately, by the Cambridge University Press. The earliest, and by far the most comprehensive, *The Collected Papers of Frederic William Maitland*, edited by H. A. L. Fisher, his brother-in-law, appeared in 1911, five years after Maitland's death, and has long since been out of print. *Maitland: Selected Essays*, edited by H. D. Hazeltine, G. Lapsley, and P. H. Winfield, was published in 1936. It included, *inter alia*, the more important parts of the great, though long-neglected, introductory essay that Maitland prefixed to his edition of the parliament roll of 1305, which Fisher had left out of the *Collected Papers*. Now we have Helen Cam's selection—a dozen pieces chosen from among his shorter writings (besides the same parts of his introduction to the parliament roll that had been reprinted in the Hazeltine, Lapsley, and Winfield volume) that, in her judgment, "have the greatest intrinsic value for students of history and best illustrate his distinctive qualities." As to what these qualities were, students of Maitland would not be in precise agreement, and some would no doubt have made different selections from his writings. There can be, however, no serious doubt that a strong and pervasive historical-mindedness was one of his salient characteristics. "Again and again," says Miss Cam in her introduction, "he emphasized the danger of imposing legal concepts of a later date on facts of an earlier date—a common fault, before his time, of the majority of legal historians and of many constitutional historians." His introduction to the roll of 1305 was "a magnificent attack on 'after-mindedness.'" His superb historical sense is perhaps the quality in his writings that makes them most valuable to students of history in general as distinguished from students of the history of English law, the field in which most of his work was done. He was, as Miss Cam says, the historian's historian. He has never been the general reader's historian, though he illustrates "the union of grace, wit and humour" and "the most exquisite sense of language" with "the most exacting standards of scholarship." Miss Cam makes no secret of her admiration—even veneration—for Maitland. If he was not quite perfect (for example, he was led by the nature of his record "to underestimate the unofficial or political aspects of a parliament" in the days of Edward I), she endorses Powicke's dictum: "Maitland is one of the immortals."

Pacific Palisades, California

ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER

NAKED TO MINE ENEMIES: THE LIFE OF CARDINAL WOLSEY. By *Charles W. Ferguson*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1958. Pp. 543. \$6.00.) In this book we have the first full-scale biography of Wolsey in a generation. Drawn in generous

proportions, it is a "life and times" of the cardinal. The author, a senior editor of *Reader's Digest*, is a layman writing for a lay audience. The book belongs to that new and promising genre of American letters—nonprofessional history written for an intelligent and literate audience. To a growing group of notable works, Mr. Ferguson has made a creditable addition. He has made careful use of existing scholarly work and to some extent of original materials, particularly the *Letters and Papers*, the *Spanish Calendar*, and the *Venetian Calendar*. As to the facts of the cardinal's life, the book adds no notable new matter. In interpretation the author has exercised the biographer's prerogative of imaginative reconstruction of his subject's personality. Here he has gone further than a professional historian might feel to be justified, in view of the paucity of materials for the understanding of Wolsey's private character. He has, however, been cautious in his speculation and has not trespassed upon the reasonable bounds set by the facts. More important, for a nonprofessional writer, he has shown a sensitive and perceptive feeling for the historical climate in which his work lies. The over-all interpretation of the cardinal is roughly that of Pollard, admiring Wolsey's talents and energy, deprecating his goals, and regretting the consequent waste. The author shrewdly juxtaposes the commanding abilities and driving force of the cardinal with his irredeemable pettiness of purpose and commonplaceness of vision. Anxious to make the book fully intelligible to a lay audience slightly informed as to sixteenth-century English history, Ferguson goes to considerable length to explain the background of developments. On the foreign scene he is reasonably successful in making the complications of European politics intelligible. On the domestic scene his hand is less sure; the result is less happy. The account of the church is accurate but dull; the attempts to sketch in the general social and economic background contain too many questionable generalities and lack altogether the skill he manifests elsewhere. The strength of the book lies in its patches of vivid narrative, and these are best where the author has full contemporary sources to rely upon. The book's weakness lies in its unevenness, the alternation of brisk narrative with rather ponderous exposition. Any biographer of Wolsey is faced with certain difficulties peculiar to his subject. The very brilliance and dash of the man, the dramatic sequence of his rise and fall, make him a bit larger than life and perhaps inflate his real importance in English history beyond due proportions. Ferguson might have done more to place Wolsey in a longer historical perspective; he might have said more about his uniqueness as a political type. But possibly this is to make an unfair demand on a biographer whose main concern is with the character and personality of the man, Thomas Wolsey.

Haverford College

WALLACE T. MACCAFFREY

THE RISE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY IN THE ENGLISH HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1603-1629. By *Williams M. Mitchell*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1957. Pp. xvi, 209. \$4.00.) The title of this little book forecasts a vital and much-needed study of early Stuart parliamentary history, but the text is a disappointment. Professor Mitchell depends largely on facts, figures, statistics, and tables of the personnel and procedure in the House of Commons. Starting with the parliaments of Elizabeth, in the last two of which he finds evidence of a good deal of independence but not of a party, opposition, or a group in any way antiroyal, he carries his story through the first seven parliaments of the seventeenth century. With much scholarly industry Mitchell shows that in the first two parliaments of James I there was opposition but no party. Opposition in the next two practically disappeared, but it reappeared in the first three parliaments of Charles I and was anti-Buckingham in the first two. Not until Charles's third parliament, that of 1628, does Mitchell find that a revolutionary party had come

into existence. The essential points about the rise of opposition and its development into a revolutionary party presented in this book have been known to most students of the period for years. When Mitchell records for many Elizabethan and each Stuart parliament the statistics and tables that show the number of new members from parliament to parliament, the number of speeches made and the most important speakers, the committee membership and the reporters from committees, and a great many other facts and figures, he helps us to understand the development of the House of Commons as an institution but throws only a feeble light indeed on party development. To trace the rise of an opposition or revolutionary party it is necessary to consider in detail the major issues brought before the House of Commons and the opinion of the members on those issues. Mitchell does not do this. Owing to his failure to use certain sources, he does not realize that a revolutionary party was already functioning in 1625 and 1626. It was essentially anti-Buckingham between 1625 and 1628 and remained largely antiministerial until shortly before the outbreak of civil war. Among the author's most serious weaknesses are his slovenly use of his sources and his failure to use the sources available, not to mention outstanding secondary works. One cannot write about Elizabethan parliaments without a single reference to the indispensable books and articles of Sir John Neale. In dealing with early Stuart parliaments one cannot ignore the *Debates in the House of Commons in 1625* edited by S. R. Gardiner, *Commons Debates for 1629* edited by Wallace Notestein and Frances Relf, and above all those invaluable, unpublished private diaries taken in the last parliament of James and the first three of Charles, now available in microfilm or typescript at Yale University, where Mitchell was a student. When it comes to the use of sources, the author should not make errors in page, date, or name in seven out of ten citations to *The Parliamentary Diary of Robert Bowyer 1606-1607* edited by David H. Willson (chap. 11, fn. 31, 75, 89, 91, 100, 101, 102). Mitchell should have a better knowledge of the "Addled" parliament so that he will not confuse the two Thomas Wentworths, will not imprison James Whitelocke after the dissolution of this parliament, and will understand why Bishop Neile had enraged the Commons. Besides a number of other similar mistakes, Mitchell does not have a sound comprehension of the activities of the Commons in the last five of the seven Stuart parliaments. How can he when he depends largely on the *Commons' Journals*?

New York University

HAROLD HULME

ROBERT GREVILLE, LORD BROOKE. By Robert E. L. Strider, II. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. ix, 252. \$5.00.) "Brook is a foole in print." So ran, says Aubrey, a libeling character of the literary effort of Robert Greville, second Lord Brooke, who published in 1641 *The Nature of Truth* and *A Discourse Opening the Nature of Episcopacy*. But Milton's praise of the *Discourse* in *Areopagitica* and posterity's interest in the Puritan Revolution have made Brooke worth at least the passing attention of both political and literary historians. Before he was killed at the age of about thirty-five he had emerged as a leader in parliament's struggle against the king. Now we have a full-length study of his life and writings. Mr. Strider's book will, however, disappoint readers who expect new light on the biography of this briefly influential figure. The familiar facts are conveniently assembled and analyzed: Brooke's early adoption by Fulke Greville, his temporary interest in colonizing enterprises, his parliamentary and military record, his premature death. But Strider adds almost nothing and is, moreover, unconvincing on such matters as Brooke's birth date and education. One third of his book is devoted to biography, the remaining two thirds to discussion of Brooke's treatises and their background. This second part is especially welcome, even

though many pages are devoted to material recently presented by Haller and others. Strider plausibly stresses the contribution of *The Nature of Truth* ("time and place have existence only in the mind") to English philosophy in its progress toward idealism and emphasizes that the *Discourse* contains not only advanced ideas on toleration but also a searching illumination of the concept of "indifferency." Since the treatises were somewhat influential in their time, this detailed evaluation was needed. Strider leaves perplexingly unresolved, however, the question of how much of all this is Lord Brooke and how much the contribution of an anonymous friend or friends (Peter Sterry? Thomas Hill?).

Indiana University

WILLIAM RILEY PARKER

THE POST OFFICE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: A STUDY IN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY. By *Kenneth Ellis*. [University of Durham Publications.] (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958. Pp. xiv, 176. \$4.00.) The author, a lecturer at the University of Durham, has used a somewhat misleading title. The volume is really an account of the career of Anthony Todd. Born in the county of Durham in 1717, he entered the London Post Office as a clerk twenty-one years later. By 1762 he had risen to be the secretary, that is, the head of the permanent staff. Todd finally retired in 1798. Two preliminary chapters concern the staff and the postmasters general; that on the staff is an excellent summary, but the postmasters general—two held the office concurrently in those days—hardly deserve the attention they receive. Experience and ability were not required of men who were usually "laid up in lavender till a better vacancy arose." Their inexperience, however, gave an astute secretary the opportunity to place his numerous relatives and friends in lucrative posts, to acquire for himself a magnificent income, and to become the real head of the organization. The emphasis of the volume is largely nonpostal. It details the propaganda activities of the Post Office, the secret opening of letters for government, the deciphering of coded letters, the misuse of the franking privilege, and the endless intrigues to gain and retain power. Todd's hold began to weaken in the later years of the century when several postmasters general became unusually assertive and when an outsider, John Palmer, sought to speed the postal services by introducing mail coaches on the main roads. The later chapters outline Todd's efforts to stave off reform, to retain his numerous and questionable perquisites, and to hinder the success of Palmer's coaches. The final chapter describes the rather barren victory won by an old man; Palmer was pushed out, but his mail coaches long outlived Secretary Todd. Mr. Ellis thinks much more highly of Todd than the reviewer, who is also familiar with the sources and the period. The volume is lavishly supplied with footnote references. A bibliography of the sources might well have been included. There is an excellent index that will make the volume a useful reference for the nonpostal side of the British Post Office of two centuries ago.

Oberlin College

HOWARD ROBINSON

ENGLISH PEOPLE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *Dorothy Marshall*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1956. Pp. xvi, 288. 30s.) This work is a successful attempt to present the social structure of England just before the real advent of the Industrial Revolution. It sets forth the way of life, the attitudes, and the role of the nobility, gentry, bourgeoisie, and proletariat in eighteenth-century England. The author answers such questions as these: What was the social structure? How does it reflect itself in the constitutional arrangements and decisions made by politicians and statesmen? What was the impact of the social stratification upon religious and ecclesiastical organizations? Where did the Dissenters and Quakers fit into this scheme?

Why did the Quakers succeed despite discriminations? Essentially, this volume is a "background" book. It does not set forth much that is new. It seeks to be a synthetic production, a summary statement, a compendium of social history. The student will find more detailed information on various aspects in the works of Ashton, Butterfield, Namier, Pares, Clapham, Prothero, Lipson, and Sykes. Although there is one chapter on economic change, not much is said on the Agricultural Revolution or on the early phases of the Industrial Revolution. Coke of Holkham is mentioned once, and there is a brief allusion to Robert Bakewell. An extended treatment of crops, farming techniques, and experiments would be helpful. This book is well written, succinct, and clear. Some fifty-seven plates give added value to this social history.

Rockford College

LELAND H. CARLSON

FROM BOSSUET TO NEWMAN: THE IDEA OF DOCTRINAL DEVELOPMENT. By *Owen Chadwick*. [The Birkbeck Lectures, 1955-56.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1957. Pp. x, 253. \$5.00.) Whatever the preoccupations and problems in theology at the present time, in the nineteenth century theology concerned itself almost exclusively with the problem of history and the impact that the new "science of history" had upon received doctrine. Of all the theologians who grappled with history none was more intense, more dedicated, and in the final analysis, less successful than John Henry Newman. The surprising fact in Newman's spiritual biography is not that he became a Roman Catholic but that even in a creed so spacious the skeptical bent of his mind did not carry him beyond the bounds of orthodoxy. In his recent book, Owen Chadwick defines in historical terms the problem posed by the idea of doctrinal development. He begins his treatment with the controversies of the Counter Reformation and traces with clarity, dignity, and not a little humor a movement which he implies culminated in the publication of Newman's *Essay on Development*. In his treatment of a complex problem he shows himself an able theologian and a masterful historian. For students of nineteenth-century thought he has written an indispensable book. He has, by his brilliant analysis of Newman's ideas, brought us much nearer to an understanding of Newman's enigmatic character. The implication, however, that the main line of thought in the idea of doctrinal development runs from Bossuet to Newman is incorrect. Further, we cannot ascribe to Newman's thought any lasting impact upon the theology of the Roman Church. Newman's essay did not produce a theology, did not produce even a school. Lord Acton noted (Cambridge University Library MS. Add. 4906): "Writing 20 years later Duschesne knew nothing of it, Kuhn knew nothing of it and the American Episcopate, by the mouthpiece of Brownson, rejected and denounced it." If the idea of doctrinal development influenced the theology of the Roman Church it was through the South German school that met ruin and excommunication in 1870. Their story remains to be written.

University of Michigan

STEPHEN J. TONSOR

VANISHED SUPREMACIES: ESSAYS ON EUROPEAN HISTORY, 1812-1918. By *Sir Lewis Namier*. [The Collected Essays of Sir Lewis Namier, Volume I.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1958. Pp. vi, 179. \$3.75.) For forty years Sir Lewis Namier "wanted to write a history of Europe 1812-1918." That he became engaged in other work, the British parliamentary history, for example, prevented the realization of his "pet scheme." While the other fields of his research have profited greatly, European historians and history are the losers. These twelve essays, all originally printed elsewhere,

are the "nearest substitute" he can offer. It is good to have them under one cover. As we have learned to expect, the essays sparkle and are full of imaginative insights arising out of thorough research.

B. C. S.

THE EVOLUTION OF MEDICAL EDUCATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Charles Newman*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. x, 340. \$4.80.) This book's author is the dean of the Postgraduate Medical School of London; the book is based on his Fitzpatrick Lectures delivered in 1954 and 1955 at the Royal College of Physicians. This reviewer can immediately say that there is much fascinating material to be found in the volume, but much of it is far too detailed and the reader often loses interest. The largest part of the volume is concerned with British medical education. It is in the opening chapters that the author's best work is done; with skill he carries the reader through the complicated maze of British medical training, taking up in their turn the physician, the surgeon, and the apothecary. The later sections of the book dealing with the various proposed reforms of medical practice in Britain become quite tiresome. It is here also that the author's prejudice begins to show; he seems to have at times a wistful longing for the early nineteenth-century conception of a physician "before technology began to supplant wisdom." He is fully aware of the advantages of modern medical practice, and his complaints against technicians are often well taken. Many would agree that the disappearance of medical practice as an "art" is deplorable. As Dr. Newman points out: "The end-product of a physician's education was in 1800 quite different from what it is today. The ideal aimed at was a cultured and highly educated gentleman, with, quite secondarily, an adequate knowledge of medicine." There were undoubted advantages to a physician's having such a background as this, but when one thinks of specific examples of this type it makes one shudder. Sir Henry Holland certainly was a physician of the order described above. One wonders if his lack of medical knowledge in any way caused the death of several of his illustrious patients, the ill-fated Queen Caroline, Canning, and Prince Albert, among others. It would be a distortion of the author's aims and outlook to say that he wants a return to this—of course not. Rather he wants the technician also to be an artist. But the wistfulness comes through so often that the reader has to be on guard.

Goucher College

GEORGE A. FOOTE

DISARMAMENT AND PEACE IN BRITISH POLITICS, 1914-1919. By *Gerda Richards Crosby*. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 32.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. viii, 192. \$4.00.) This little book will remind many of their pleasure in talking with Gerda Crosby about her work on the disarmament movement between the two world wars, which promised to be a thorough and careful study, enlivened by its author's conviction that the issue was vital and of continuing contemporary concern. Mrs. Crosby's untimely death in 1953 prevented the completion of her manuscript, but Ellen Guild, who had worked closely with her, prepared its first part for publication in the present form. This could have been merely an introduction to an unwritten book. Instead, it is a monograph that makes a contribution in its own right to the international history of the war and its immediate aftermath. To a certain degree, the book is misnamed. Only two of its six chapters really deal with disarmament and peace in British politics. The others are more general assessments, first of the disarmament ideal and then of its fate in the complicated days from the armistice to the signing of the peace treaty. It is as much concerned with French and

American policy as it is with British. Far from being a weakness, this is a major strength. For while the chapters on British war aims and disarmament traverse familiar ground by paths only slightly removed from those taken by a number of scholars, those dealing with the peace conference make rich use of the materials now so abundantly available in the *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States*. We are left with the feeling that if Mrs. Crosby had lived to carry her study into the postwar era, she would have pressed home the view that the period from 1919 to 1933 was one of lost opportunities to achieve a viable and rational limitation of armaments. In her concluding sentence, although she recognizes the political and psychological obstacles to a disarmament settlement, she regrets the mistakes of a span of years "when reduction was both possible and vitally important for the future of Europe." This is not orthodox doctrine at a time when it is popular to emphasize the naïvetés and "soft-mindedness" of the aspirations of the twenties. Yet it may well be that Mrs. Crosby's implication throughout the book—that those who sought arms limitation in her period were considerably more realistic than their opponents—has a great deal to recommend it. However that may be, this is a rewarding contribution to our growing awareness of some of the major turning points in contemporary history.

Rutgers University

HENRY R. WINKLER

DOCUMENTS ON BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, 1919-1939. Edited by *E. L. Woodward* and *Rohan Butler*. Second Series, Volume VI, 1933-34. (London: H.M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1957. Pp. lxxxv, 996. \$18.40 postpaid.) Anyone wishing to know why the relatively strong West failed to check the rearmament of Nazi Germany in the days of its weakness should consult this volume of the standard British series of diplomatic correspondence in the period between the two world wars. (For reviews of earlier volumes and a discussion of the editorial practices involved, see *AHR*, LIV [January, April, July, 1949], 307-14, 781-85, 854-56; LXIII [January, 1958], 404-405.) In the autumn of 1933 Hitler had already withdrawn from the Geneva Conference for the reduction and limitation of armaments. On paper he had a good case, as a Foreign Office expert warned the British government: "It would be useless to ask what their (German) intentions are when we know that their answer will be 'All that we want is what we have always wanted—equality: engage to give up the arms forbidden to us and we do not ask for them, or alternatively, if you intend to keep them we must have them.' To provoke this answer would only impale His Majesty's Government on the horns of a very awkward dilemma, for we dare do neither one nor the other, and France is in the same predicament." In the circumstances, the British were inclined to permit limited German rearmament under strict controls, but the Nazi demands were excessive and the French refused to give up any of their rights under the Versailles settlement. The Western Allies could not compromise their differences. So in spite of the troubles encountered at the time of the Röhm affair and the murder of Chancellor Dollfuss, the Nazi regime pushed ahead on the fatal climb to military power. France responded by beginning negotiations for an agreement with the Soviet Union. A concluding chapter covers the correspondence with the American government about the war debts, which culminated in the final suspension of payments on June 15, 1934.

Washington, D. C.

MARSHALL KNAPPEN

THE FIRST LABOUR GOVERNMENT, 1924. By *Richard W. Lyman*. (London: Chapman and Hall. [1957.] Pp. ix, 302. 25s.) The first Labour government in Great Britain—an episode of nine months—may hardly seem to deserve a book to itself. Yet it

established several things that were important for British politics in the next twenty years. It showed that Labour in office would be a party of moderation, not from necessity but from choice; it was being "tamed." The excuse for moderation was that it lacked a majority; but bolder policies, particularly over unemployment, where its failure was greatest, would at least have put the Liberals on the spot and more probably would have won Liberal enthusiasm. It was MacDonald who charted the course of moderation; and this term of office established his public character and his popularity with Labour, even though it began his alienation from the party. This may explain, incidentally, why Labour learned so little, as Professor Lyman points out, from this experience; its members showed no more grasp of economic conditions in 1929 than in 1924. The other great lesson was of the weakness of the Liberals. It was not just that they were divided; they had nothing to offer. A Labour government brought the elector to a choice which had not been clear before—Labour or Conservative, there was no need for a third party. No wonder it was the Liberals who lost the election of 1924. All this is well brought out in Lyman's clear and careful study, based on a wealth of periodical literature as well as on public documents, memoirs, and personal interviews. He might have been wiser to have written a narrative rather than an analysis: difficulties with the Liberals, with Labour backbenchers, the hopes and frustrations, successes and failures might have thus been shown more clearly. The tale of the government's fall over the Campbell case might have been told more fully and vividly. Against this one must set many good points, too numerous to mention: for example, the precedent MacDonald set for Labour in choosing his cabinet in the normal way and not by party caucus. He reminds one of Tory *Schrecklichkeit* at the time—the way in which respectable politicians (including Curzon) and newspapers had no scruple in linking the Labour party with Bolshevism and with supposed Communist attacks upon marriage and the family. One's only criticisms, in fact, are trivial. He might have said more of the social experiences of the untried Labour ministers and of the Half Circle Club. His comparison of MacDonald and Curzon as foreign secretaries is a little unfair to Curzon; their styles were a world apart.

University of Chicago

C. L. MOWAT

THE GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY OF CANADA. By A. W. Currie. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1957. Pp. viii, 556. \$8.50.) The title of this book suggests both less and more than it contains. The author says: "The political aspects of the Company's operations and the views of its executives on national policies have not been neglected, but the primary emphasis is on the story of the Railway as a business institution." And at once it should be said that the Grand Trunk is not at its best when viewed thus. Actually, the work is primarily a financial history of the Grand Trunk and the railways with which it amalgamated or which it absorbed. Professor Currie devotes 138 pages to the history of the Great Western of Canada, itself a great system, and the lesser groups and single railways that eventually made up the Grand Trunk. This system included fifty-two different railways in Ontario and Quebec alone. The work is, therefore, much more comprehensive than the bald title suggests; at the same time the title might well have indicated the emphasis on finance. Inevitably much of the study is devoted to routes and gauges, and there is some discussion of rates and labor relations. There is little about the difficulties encountered in building the road, about equipment, volume of goods carried, station architecture, express, telegraphs, and the myriad other topics that may be included in railway history. The Grand Trunk was involved in politics from the first, and while Currie recognizes this fact, he does little more than indicate it. This aspect of the railway's history remains to be done,

along with a study of the undeniably great economic contribution the railway made to the territory it served, particularly Ontario. The great personalities of the Grand Trunk, and there were many, are not brought to life. The account of the last days of the company is clear and objective and Currie is not afraid to suggest that the Canadian government discriminated against the Grand Trunk at the end because it was not a Canadian company. Currie has used all available financial statements and reports of the companies concerned. He does not appear to have seen the Swinyard letter books at the University of Western Ontario or the papers of Charles M. Hays, 1902-1907, in the Public Archives of Canada.

University of Western Ontario

JAMES J. TALMAN

THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR IN CANADA. By *Douglas R. Kennedy*. (London, Canada: University of Western Ontario. 1956. Pp. 127. \$1.00.) The life of Douglas Kennedy, a promising student of history and an able teacher, was unhappily cut short by cancer when he was in his thirty-third year. The publication of *The Knights of Labor in Canada*, his thesis for the master's degree at the University of Western Ontario, completed in 1945, has more significance as evidence of the keen sense of loss which his death occasioned among his friends than as a contribution to the literature of North American labor history. Prepared under the direction of Professor Fred Landon, the thesis is well above the level reached by most M.A. research exercises. It is unpretentious and competently written and reveals a sound sense of historical judgment for a graduate student. It rests heavily on secondary materials for the earlier history of the labor movement in Canada and for its delineation of the Knights. Some monographic studies of American labor, which would have been useful, appear to have escaped Mr. Kennedy's attention. His treatments of such important questions as the relationship between the K. of L. and the Roman Catholic Church and between the K. of L. and the A.F. of L. understandably bear poor comparison with more recent studies by Henry J. Browne (*The Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor*) and Philip Taft (*The A.F. of L. in the Time of Gompers*), for example. The materials presented by Kennedy on wages, hours, working conditions, labor conflicts, and employer attitudes for the 1880's are a highlight of this modest and workmanlike essay.

Columbia University

HENRY DAVID

HAROLD ADAMS INNIS: PORTRAIT OF A SCHOLAR. By *Donald Creighton*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1957. Pp. 146. \$3.00.) Harold Adams Innis pioneered in the field of Canadian economic history. His studies of the Canadian fur trade, cod fisheries, and other aspects of economic development won him an enviable international reputation. This short biography by a long-time colleague and friend, himself one of Canada's most distinguished historians, is written with literary skill. Most rewarding is the description of Innis' mature years, of which Professor Creighton can speak from intimate association. The emphasis is on a narrative account of Innis' life and his era, though there is some discussion of his characteristics as a historian. One might wish for a more extensive critical analysis of Innis' contributions, but this was not the purpose of the book. It is no reflection on this sketch to state that the best portrait of the scholar is still to be found in his works, which perhaps reveal more of his thought and outlook than can be provided by any biography.

University of California, Los Angeles

JOHN S. GALBRAITH

THE CAPE COLOURED PEOPLE, 1652-1937. By *J. S. Marais*. (2d ed.; Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press. 1957. Pp. xxi, 296. 22s. 6d.) Appropriately, the

year of the departure of Cape Colored voters to a separate roll, in the manner required by the South African Appellate Court, saw the reprinting of this well-known work. The book concerns a group whose history goes back to the day when the first European stepped ashore at Table Bay, although modern racial mixtures in the colored element are more than the result of white-nonwhite contacts. The author—an Afrikaner of the Western Cape liberal tradition—shows the role played by Colored groups in the history of the Cape, including the expansion of its frontiers. They were either soldiers in the Cape Corps or Griqua frontiersmen with lives little different from wandering Boers, who, the author declares, required the salutary lesson of the usually damned Black Circuit. The best years for the Cape Colored were under imperial protection, particularly after the Fiftieth Ordinance of 1828, although the book does not indicate the crucial fact of its imperial “entrenchment.” Self-government for the Cape in 1872, despite the continuation of its colorless franchise, marked the beginning of the decline in Cape Colored fortunes, which accelerated with the formation of “white” labor unions and the dominating influence of the Northern racial tradition in the Union of South Africa. The author does not sufficiently stress that the temporary protection of the unique Cape franchise by the two thirds clause, productive of the constitutional crises between 1951 and 1957, was the work of the Cape Afrikaner Bond. He does, however, see the meaning for the Cape Colored suffrage in the removal of Cape native voters to a special register in 1936. It is at this point that this reviewer faces the same problem as when he first read the book—the inability of Coloreds to hold their own has not been adequately explained. The author, in making the reason a matter of white attitudes derived from slaveholding days, brushes aside the phenomenon that the most liberal racial tradition developed in the Western Cape, where most slaveholders lived and remained after Emancipation. Despite what amounts to special pleading by the writer, he constantly reveals Colored dependence upon imperial protection and upon a theocratic principle, supplied by white clergy, of social organization. Even the relatively vigorous Kok dynasty needed both supports. This reviewer suspects that Colored desire to identify with Europeans (and the latter’s refusal to permit such identification) precluded group dynamism for Coloreds and left them vulnerable to white pressures. It is interesting to note that slaves and former slaves preferred Islam to Christianity, finding among the followers of the Prophet a racial equality denied them by white Christians.

University of Southern California

COLIN RHYS LOVELL

EUROPE

SEBASTIAN CASTELLIO IM URTEIL SEINER NACHWELT VOM SPÄTHUMANISMUS BIS ZUR AUFKLÄRUNG. By *Hans Rudolf Guggisberg*. [Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft, Band 57.] (Basel: Verlag von Helbing & Lichtenhahn. 1956. Pp. 207. 12 fr. S.) If Castellio was for long one of Christendom’s stepchildren, he is certainly no longer a neglected child. Ferdinand Buisson’s detailed, though somewhat uncritical, biography of this dedicated Erasmian, a venturer submerged by the main stream of the Reformation, has been supplemented by the excellent studies of Roland Bainton, Bruno Becker, H. de la Fontaine Verwey, and others. In this volume Hans Guggisberg, a student of Werner Kaegi, systematically records the fortunes of Castellio’s fame from his death in 1563 to the end of the eighteenth century. Consciously patterned after Andreas Flintner’s *Erasmus im Urteil seiner Nachwelt*, this account of Castellio’s posthumous reputation presents the formative opinions and later stereotypes of both the conservatives and liberals in the early period, the way in which the Enlightenment sought an objective evaluation, and the fascinating shift of interest

in the late seventeenth and the eighteenth century away from Castellio's religious works to his personal tragic role as a persecuted scholar. By the end of the century even his pedagogical writings faded into oblivion. Drawing on the introductions and commentaries to the many editions of Castellio's works, the writings of an impressive array of savants, and a large number of polemical works and pamphlets, this review of posterity's views offers a wide but by no means complete coverage of Castellio's *Nachruf*. It was in the Netherlands that his advocacy of religious toleration had its greatest effect, and the author's treatment of the Dutch scene is particularly thorough and valuable. This work does not pretend to be a history of Castellio's intellectual and spiritual influence on later generations, but it may well serve as a preliminary study for such a more comprehensive undertaking along the lines of J. Lindeboom's sprightly essay on "La place de Castellion dans l'histoire de l'esprit" in *Autour de Michel Servet et de Sebastien Castellion* (Haarlem, 1953).

University of Missouri

LEWIS W. SPITZ

AU COEUR RELIGIEUX DU XVI^e SIÈCLE. By *Lucien Febvre*. [Bibliothèque générale de l'école pratique des hautes études, VI^e section.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1957. Pp. 358. 1,600 fr.) This volume gathers up a number of studies by Lucien Febvre dealing almost entirely with the religious movements of the sixteenth century, especially those in France. His characteristic style is everywhere evident, vibrant, pulsating, excited, punctuated by rhetorical questions. He delights to set up a problem and pursue the solution with all the suspense of a detective story. Even his book reviews provide material for mystery plots—and there are a number here (the section on Erasmus consists mainly of reviews of Renaudet, Huizinga, and Bataillon). Febvre as a reviewer does not content himself with an account of the content and an appraisal. Rather he describes his own emotions as in reading he passes from indifference to excitement, and then some problem always emerges with which he delights to wrestle for another four or five pages. No stunted reviews are these! But reviews are not the staple of the book. The first article is entitled "Une question mal posée: Les origines de la réforme française." Religious reform, he maintains, was a universal phenomenon in the sixteenth century. One cannot isolate national characteristics, nor can one determine with precision chronological priorities. The cause of the reform was not primarily moral corruption, though it existed and was deplored, nor an aversion to current Catholic religious practices. Much evidence is adduced to show the wide extent of popular piety. The cause was rather a craving for the infinite and the conviction that the Bible had the answer, the Bible lately made available in the vulgar tongue. From the Bible one learned the futility of man's efforts to achieve peace with the infinite. Man can only accept in faith the proffered Grace of God—justification by faith. Several articles deal with details of the French Reformation. The recent discovery of an original of the *Placards* of 1534 prompts a query as to why their dissemination should have occasioned such an uproar in France. The answer is not to be found in the violence of the language. The sixteenth century was accustomed to that. The answer lies in the attack on the Mass, and then Febvre gives a gripping account of what the Mass meant to the devout. An article on Étienne Dolet starts off with the discovery that he published a *Sommaire* of the faith derived from Robert Étienne and taken by him from Lefevre. What is surprising is that this same *Sommaire* was appropriated by Calvin. Dolet, then, published a work acceptable to the reformers. Not only that, he published a work of Calvin. Here is an enigma. Dolet published Calvin. Dolet was reviled by Calvin. Dolet was burned for denying immortality. The solution is that Dolet did not die for his own faith but be-

cause he believed that men should be allowed to print expressions of their faith. He was burned as a publisher of prohibited books. The concluding section steps out of the sixteenth century to deal with Leibnitz, Spinoza, and Loisy.

Yale University

ROLAND H. BAINTON

DIE MODERNE WELT, 1789-1945. Volume I, DIE EPOCHE DER BÜRGERLICHEN NATIONALSTAATEN, 1789-1890; Volume II, WELTMÄCHTE UND WELTKRIEGE: DIE GESCHICHTE UNSERER EPOCHE, 1890-1945. By *Hans Herzfeld*. [Geschichte der Neuzeit.] (Braunschweig: Georg Westermann Verlag. 1957. Pp. xi, 260; viii, 376. DM 11.80; DM 17.80.) Manuals for the college student in history, as they are so widely used in the United States and Britain, have been unknown in German academic life. The student there was confined to the professor's lectures, which offered him material with some critical introduction into the problems and interpretations, and to the seminars, where he was introduced to the sources and important monographs of the period studied. Such a method depends upon the excellence of the teacher and on the time and willingness of the student to do independent reading. Such ideal conditions rarely exist: many students at the German universities worked their way through college, especially after 1945; the library facilities were poor, compared not only with American standards but even with prewar German standards; and much of the material comprising a cycle of historical study was not offered. Under these conditions Professor Gerhard Ritter undertook to edit a series of textbooks on the history of modern times. The first part, on the history of the Renaissance and Reformation, by Professor Erich Hassinger, and the second part, on the Age of Absolutism, by Professor Walther Hubatsch, have not yet appeared. The two volumes on the modern world from 1789 to 1945, however, are now available in the second revised edition. The author is Hans Herzfeld, who occupies the chair of modern history at the Free University of Berlin. These two volumes were probably the most difficult to write because they deal with the immediate past; on the other hand, they were, for the same reason, the most urgently needed. They are intended not only for college students but also for teachers of history in high schools and for the general reader. The books are written in a fluent and lively style and contain extended bibliographies at the end of each chapter. There can be no doubt about their usefulness for students and general readers alike. In accord with the new trend, the greatest emphasis is put on recent events. The crucial sixty years from the beginning of the French Revolution to 1851 receive only 140 pages, the Age of Bismarck (1851-1890) is dealt with in 100 pages, whereas the events of World War I receive 100 pages to cover a period of only four years, and the events from Hitler's rise to power to the catastrophe of 1945 are given a coverage of about 60 pages. Thus the First World War occupies a central position in the work. It is understandable that the books revolve around Germany's problems and that attention to non-European countries is rather sparse. American readers will be interested in the treatment of problems such as that of Woodrow Wilson's policy in 1917. Though in the bibliography the "revisionist" school of Tansill and others is strongly represented, Herzfeld's discussion itself is a model of balanced judgment and entirely fair to Wilson's sympathy with the democratic cause of the Allies. The same fairness is shown toward the French attitude of 1914. Herzfeld rightly sees in 1914 a bankruptcy of German political leadership before German militarism. He deplores the fact that Germany did not learn more from the events of 1918 and was driven, from 1919 on, into even greater intellectual isolation from the West than under Bismarck. In concluding his discussion of the German catastrophe of 1945, Herzfeld correctly stresses that even a very daring imagination could not foresee at that moment the

development of the post-1945 era. "It could not anticipate that in all the revolutionary change of modern time continuity would assert itself with the strength which it has shown since 1945." The post-1945 development in Germany could be interpreted, however, in the opposite sense. It marked a break with the continuity not only of the development that led to the enthusiastic acceptance of Hitler by most Germans but also of the development that culminated in the glorification of Bismarck and of the Prussian authoritarian state.

City College of New York

HANS KOHN

CONCORDIA MUNDI: THE CAREER AND THOUGHT OF GUILLAUME POSTEL (1510-1581). By *William J. Bouwsma*. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 33.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. vi, 328. \$6.50.) Guillaume Postel was not one of the great stars of the sixteenth century whose influence continued to our own day but a meteor whose brilliance aroused considerable excitement among his contemporaries for a while and then sank into oblivion. To be sure, his approximately forty books and treatises and his dozen or more broadsheets were widely read in his lifetime; his eschatology was accepted by a number of small groups in Germany, England, and his native France; his contributions to oriental studies were noteworthy in several respects; and he probably helped stimulate the missionary zeal which was an important element in the Catholic Reformation. Nevertheless, he failed to carry out his broader purposes in life. He was denounced by most of the Protestant leaders, expelled from the Society of Jesus, imprisoned in Rome by his own church, and shut up in a monastery for the last eighteen years of his life by his king, upon whom he had looked for leadership in carrying out his missionary program, which he believed would usher in the millennium. Yet a study of his career is of great value, for it reflects all the main religious and cultural concerns of sixteenth-century Europe. It is Professor Bouwsma's awareness of Postel's ability to absorb the great mass of religious and cultural materials of his day that led him to study the life and work of this medieval schoolman and prophet, humanist, and *philosophe*. With a complete command of his sources and an exceptional comprehension of the intricate intellectual currents and crosscurrents of the sixteenth century, he solves a number of enigmas hitherto associated with Postel and presents his basic conceptions in a convincing manner, giving them both meaning and form. He shows how Postel appropriated his ideas by enormous reading in the writings of Scripture, Church fathers, scholastics, medieval mystics, Arabic scientists, Islamic scholars, Jewish commentators, cabalistic mystics, Greek and Roman classical authors, Renaissance humanists and philologists, late medieval travelers, and Protestant reformers. He then shows how, on the basis of this reading, Postel developed his mystical notions and eschatology, his emphasis upon the common features in all cultures, his triune ideal of unity, order, and peace, his Christian humanist religious faith, and his concern for converting the entire world to Christianity by a rational demonstration of its truth. The results of this intensive study are gratifying, for the author examines with rare insight not only the interplay of the highly complex intellectual movements of the Renaissance and the Reformation but their relationship with the Middle Ages and the Enlightenment.

Ohio State University

HAROLD J. GRIMM

VIE DE JACQUES ESPRINCHARD: ROCHELAIS ET JOURNAL DE SES VOYAGES AU XVI^e SIÈCLE. By *Léopold Chatenay*. [Bibliothèque générale de l'école pratique des hautes études, VI^e section.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1957. Pp. viii, 308. 1,800 fr.) In the spring of 1597 Jacques Esprinchard, a young Huguenot from La

Rochelle who had just finished his law studies at Leyden, completed his education with a tour through Germany and Central Europe, returning to his native city by way of Geneva and southern France more than a year later. The present volume is the first complete edition of the journal he kept along the way; the "life" so prominently featured in the title of the book is in fact only a biographical introduction to a text of considerable interest. Esprinchard evidently traveled simply to see what he could see, and his itinerary was obviously designed to include as many major towns as possible: Cologne, Mainz, Frankfort, Nuremberg, Leipzig, Magdeburg, Dresden, Breslau, Cracow, Vienna, Prague, Ingolstadt, Munich, Augsburg, Strassburg, Basel, Geneva, Lyons, Avignon, and many others. At each town he stopped for a few days, observed and learned what he could, and recorded data and impressions of many sorts, often in considerable detail. He described local topography, forms of government, manufactures, peculiarities of custom and dress; he recorded epitaphs and other inscriptions and learned as much local history as he could; he inspected mines; he visited churches, universities, zoos, gardens, the palaces of rulers; he counted the arches of bridges and exclaimed over artistic, architectural, and mechanical marvels. Everywhere he was pleased with what he found; as a result his picture of Central Europe at the end of the sixteenth century is one of almost unbroken peace, prosperity, and contentment. But his uniform appreciation is the only personal quality in Esprinchard's journal; he relates no adventures, says nothing of his encounters with individual people, and never suggests that he regards himself as a Frenchman among Germans, a subject of the Bourbon monarch in the lands of his enemies, a bourgeois in an aristocratic society, or even, with rare exceptions, a Protestant surveying the dubious ways and works of Catholics. As a result the journal is more like a guidebook than a personal record.

University of California, Berkeley

WILLIAM J. BOUWSMA

THE REVOLUTIONARY THEORIES OF LOUIS AUGUSTE BLANQUI. By Alan B. Spitzer. [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, Number 594.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1957. Pp. 208. \$3.75.) This monograph is an able and informative study of the French political firebrand who spent an impressive total of forty years as a political prisoner under five successive French regimes. Thiers once, with sound justification, refused to exchange Blanqui for all the hostages held by the *communards*, announcing that he was "worth an army corps." That he exerted a profound and continuing influence on many generations of the French and European left is indisputable. The present investigation is not meant to be a detailed biography of Blanqui's colorful life; for that one must still read Gustave Geffroy's romantic but full account in *L'Enfermé*, written over half a century ago. It is rather an assessment of Blanqui's contribution to socialist thought and a reexamination of the commonly held view that he was no more than a naïve activist chronically addicted to conspiracy, insurrection, and revolutionary adventurism. The author has closely analyzed Blanqui's speeches and published works as well as a substantial number of unpublished fragmentary writings to arrive at his conclusions. Without going so far as such overly sympathetic writers as Maurice Dommanget, he finds in Blanqui an intellectual of no mean capacity, who is responsible for a variety of cogently formulated social theories that adumbrate modern revolutionary socialism. Though willing to concede that Blanqui was primarily a man of action, he successfully demonstrates that Blanqui based his beliefs on a thorough and systematic rationalism. Perhaps the one weakness of the book is the failure to satisfy the reader that Blanqui's theorizing was not merely an elaborate rationalization of his deeply imbedded belief in insurrection and the leadership of a revolutionary elite. There is no doubt, however, that the author has explored

with intelligence and thoroughness the veteran revolutionary's philosophical assumptions, his theories of social and economic change, and his relationship to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century revolutionary traditions. He has brought to light and evaluated judiciously whatever is most tenable and logical in Blanqui's revolutionary theorizing.
Duke University JOEL COLTON

RECUEIL D'ÉTUDES SOCIALES PUBLIÉ À LA MÉMOIRE DE FRÉDÉRIC LE PLAY. [Centenaire de la Société d'Économie et de Science Sociales.] (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard et Cie. 1956. Pp. xvi, 300. 1,800 fr.) Pierre Guillaume Frédéric Le Play (1806-1882) was a temporarily prominent French social thinker of the mid-nineteenth century. Originally trained as an engineer, he became deeply interested in the economic and social aspects of human existence—an interest that found its most popular expression in his *Reforme sociale en France* (Paris, 1864). Its appearance in this form, at the behest of Napoleon III, was as a partial reissue of his earlier and more general *Ouvriers européens* (Paris, 1855). Of his later works the most important was *L'Organisation de la famille* (Paris, 1871). He was also the founder of the *Société d'économie sociale*, whose centenary in 1956 was the occasion for the appearance of the volume here being reviewed. Le Play is best remembered for his original use of the social survey, and particularly for his utilization of family budgets. This fitted quite neatly his belief that the family, its stability and health, lay at the root of the social order and gave rise to the later currency of his expression, *la famille-souche*. His social philosophy was a paternalistic one, with heavy emphasis upon the father, the prince, and the Church. Christian morality, hard work, class collaboration, and *noblesse oblige* were to characterize the good order, the fate of which was an unending struggle against the divisive revolutionary evils that had come from the materialistic and secular movements of recent generations. Why some of these views had a certain attractiveness for Napoleon III can readily be seen, and they appealed in a degree to latter day monarchists and authoritarians; but even the Vichy regime, with all its concern for Le Play's central concepts, was unable to breathe life into his still bones. The present volume consists of two parts: the first, in eleven chapters, deals with the life, the work, and the influence of Le Play; the second, and longer, consists of seventeen essays applying, in varying degree and with varying success, the methods of Le Play to a wide range of subjects. Each contribution to both parts is by a different author, and quite patently no firm editorial hand attempted to give a systematic unity to the whole. As a result, both sections suffer, especially the first, where it is impossible to gain a rounded picture of the man and his school. Two chapters here do have some interest. One, by Philippe Secrétan, in assaying the influence of Le Play upon the historians of his day, quotes from Albert Sorel, who venerated him highly. The other, by Professor Carle C. Zimmerman of Harvard and entitled "Frédéric Le Play as a Social Change Theorist," places him in this regard on a plane with Plato, Machiavelli, Vico, Sorokin, and Toynbee. In the second part, historians may find the following of some importance: Henri Chamteux, "Quelques aspects juridiques et religieux de l'évolution individualiste du XII^e siècle"; Geneviève d'Harcourt, "Les agents de comté et les services agricoles d'éducation extra-scolaire (Extension) aux États-Unis"; and Paul Ourliac, "La famille pyrénéenne au moyen âge."

University of Wisconsin

HENRY BERTRAM HILL

LES ACCORDS SECRETS FRANCO-BRITANNIQUES DE NOVEMBRE-DÉCEMBRE 1940: HISTOIRE OU MYSTIFICATION. By *Général G. Schmitt*. [Esprit de la Résistance.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1957. Pp. 216. 700 fr.) This

little book will not do much to plaster over the cracks in France's house consequent on the defeat of 1940. Its precise purpose is really to do just the opposite, to open them up, to reveal them once more. In a frankly combative way (defending the true Resistance from the false), Gaston Schmitt here attacks the twice-told tale of Professor Louis Rougier's secret mission to London in October, 1940, to effect a "gentleman's agreement" with Winston Churchill. The elaborate supposed implications of this visit, which underlie the revisionist structure labeled "*résistance vichyssoise*," are left in tatters by the general. In brief, he shows that there never was any Franco-British agreement, that Rougier had no mandate from Marshal Pétain or anyone else in authority, that he altered and falsified major points in his story and documents, that Pétain remembered little or nothing at all about him after the mission, and that Pétain never at any time desired an understanding with Great Britain and indeed rejected all Churchill's advances. The Halifax-Chevalier negotiations are likewise shown to have been no more than an exchange without issue. The last confused "telegrams" between Vichy and North Africa at the time of the 1942 Allied landings are stripped of all pro-Allied meaning or simply proved to be deliberate misrepresentation after the event. General Schmitt is out to demonstrate that Vichy had not the slightest thought of rejoining the war, that to the end it was unmoved by Churchill's urgings to prepare for the day of liberation, and that in the aftermath of the German defeat almost all the principals in the overthrown French regime climbed on the providential Rougier band wagon and proceeded to rewrite recent history. His case seems sound. Possibly not all the details are yet in place, but on the basis of this study—and even considering the sometimes merely circumstantial proofs put forward—one must reject the interpretation of the compromised Académie Française sword-and-shield school (whose patron saint is André François-Poncet). The conclusions of Robert Aron and Paul Farmer (*not* that their two books are in any way identical) need revision here. The more circumspect but still misleading estimate of William L. Langer (and Langer and Gleason) and even Alfred Cobban's cautious account of the "accord" must be altered. Vichy's sorry story might on some grounds elicit more sympathy than Schmitt would concede, but it is not any lovelier on this particular reading. As for the no doubt well-meaning but many think dishonest Rougier and the neo-Vichyite coterie that writes for *Écrits de Paris*—and for even more respectable journals and periodicals such as *Le Figaro* and the *Revue des Deux Mondes*—they are evidently self-condemned to go on trying to persuade the world that they have nothing to forget and nothing to learn. And as there is always a substantial French audience for this old established act, their show will doubtless continue to have a considerable success.

University of Toronto

JOHN C. CAIRNS

RELIGIÓN Y ESTADO EN LA ESPAÑA DEL SIGLO XVI. By *Fernando de los Ríos*. (Mexico, D. F.: Sección de Obras de Historia, Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1957. Pp. 199.) From a transatlantic perspective we are likely to think of Fernando de los Ríos as a statesman, one of the boldest and most creative statesmen of the Spanish Republic, who gave his enforced leisure to scholarship. It would be more correct, of course, to think of him as a political philosopher who took every opportunity to translate his theories into action. He was already a scholar of high Spanish and growing European reputation, a writer on a wide range of topics from Plato's political philosophy to the origins of modern socialism, before his leadership of Spanish socialist opposition to the Third International thrust him into the center of the political arena. But the main preoccupations of his intellectual life, the role and function of the state, the relation of education to citizenship, and the development of a typically Spanish humane

and liberal socialism, always lay close to the main lines of his political action. Few people would think of him as a historian. Yet his probing, curious mind was always seeking in the past the springs of the present, and in both his periods of exile he reflected much on history, and particularly on the sixteenth century, the age of Spain's greatness in which not only Spain but Western civilization as a whole assumed its peculiar character. He did not live to give his reflections final form, and these essays, or lectures, may be all that can be rescued of his musings. Only one of them, the one which gives its title to the volume, seems to have been published before. It belongs to De los Ríos' first exile, more than thirty years ago. Though we are not told their dates, most, perhaps all, of the others seem to belong to the period of the second exile, the 1940's. All of them are concerned with the sixteenth century, and all but one, a slight sketch of totalitarian anticipations in Machiavelli and Calvin, treat aspects of Spanish history—the development of the monarchy, the concepts of national and international law, and the role of Spain in the Americas. No one will look to these occasional pieces for a sustained interpretation or the results of original researches. But these reflections are never less than serious and purposeful. Sometimes they dart a beam of light into the depths of a murky question; sometimes they vibrate with overtones of suggestive meaning. And always it is good to hear this voice again, rational, humane, tolerant, civilized, the voice of a philosopher who loved his country without loving her faults.

Columbia University

GARRETT MATTINGLY

SPAIN IN DECLINE, 1621–1700. By *R. Trevor Davies*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1957. Pp. vii, 180. \$5.00.) R. Trevor Davies' posthumous book is an agreeable little history of the reigns of Philip IV and Charles II. Davies excels in portraying his characters and in describing the splendors of Spain's art and literature. Drawing heavily on Martin Hume, he also conjurs up the fantastic atmosphere of the royal court. The skill of his pen leads him dangerously close to implying that the history of the nation was embodied in court intrigues. He saves himself by a conscious effort to weigh other forces at work. His most suggestive observations, in fact, are on the role of religious sentiment. For instance, he finds an important cause of the revolts of Catalonia and Portugal in popular opposition to anticlerical aspects of Olivares' mercantilism. He is obviously less at ease when he turns to international and economic developments, which lie at the heart of Spain's decline. He blames the international collapse mainly on the "deadly skill and perfidy" of Richelieu. The most permanent blow to Spain's power, however, was the loss of control over the route to America, a defeat inflicted by the Dutch in a war Davies scarcely mentions. He gives much thought to the causes of Spain's economic ills. He points primarily to overexpansion of the bureaucracy, currency manipulation, and overtaxation. These were evils, but what were their effects? Davies says they were the decay of industry and agriculture and resultant depopulation. This familiar picture was first drawn by mercantilists, who judged a nation's manufacture largely in terms of luxury goods. Davies himself shows that Spain's production of common necessities never collapsed. On the contrary, in the north and east an industrial revival was in preparation. At best his description of decline applies only to Castile, and studies available before Davies' death suggest these developments were largely a manifestation of the growth of vast estates devoted to sheepraising. Castilian landowners evidently found wool more profitable than grain. Spain was witnessing the transformation of Castilian land usage and the migration of population and industry from the heartland to the periphery. How far the entire economy of Spain declined is in need of imaginative reconsideration. This is not to be

found in a book that still speaks of "the Spanish disinclination for work," does not mention the Mesta, and relies on material published before the Second World War. *Spain in Decline* provides fresh reading, but it adds little to our understanding of Spain's decline.

Yale University

RICHARD HERR

LE RÉGIME REPRÉSENTATIF EN BELGIQUE DEPUIS 1790. By *John Gilissen*. [Collection: "Notre Passé."] (Brussels: La Renaissance du Livre. 1958. Pp. 197.) This short monograph, a welcome addition to the well-known Belgian historical series *Notre Passé*, meets most of the high standards set by the late editor of that series, Mme. Suzanne Tassier. A considerable amount of Belgian constitutional history has been compressed into a neat package. Perhaps the most valuable section is the introduction, in which the author carefully defines the often confusing terms constitutional, representative, and parliamentary governments. The early chapters, in which the tenuous thread of representative institutions is followed through the maze of successive governments imposed upon the Belgians from 1790 to 1814, seem somewhat labored. On the other hand, the description of the workings of the liberal, bourgeois state of the mid-nineteenth century is an excellent presentation. One might wish that more attention had been focused on the 1892-1893 struggle for constitutional revision. This book offers no better explanation of the episode than those found in earlier works on the subject. This was one of the few dramatic events in recent Belgian political history, for, in contrast to the stormy scenes in neighboring France, Belgian constitutional history has been noted for extraordinary stability, serenity, and continuity. Belgium's Constitution of 1831 has survived for 127 years almost without change, despite two world wars and the transformation of a bourgeois state into a democracy. This fact alone would serve to justify the publication of this survey. Although the style is pedestrian and the presentation colorless, the account is clear and simple and the organization excellent. Specialists in Belgian political history will find little here that is new, but for the general reader there is probably no better summary, certainly none in English, of the history of representative government in Belgium. The bibliographical essay at the end is worthy of attention.

Falls Church, Virginia

THEODORE B. HODGES

URBAN POPULATION, 1600-1660: DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS, MIGRATION, INCOMES [in Danish; English summary]. By *Hans H. Fussing*. [Skrifter udgivet af Jysk Selskab for Historie, Sprog og Litteratur, Number 1.] (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget. 1957. Pp. xiii, 125.) This volume was prepared by the late Dr. Hans H. Fussing (1897-1956), who had completed the manuscript shortly before his death. His notable work on Denmark's agricultural history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which appeared in 1934, dealt with "Gessingholm, 1609-1663," a noble estate of the Rantzau family. As the present book shows, Fussing was interested in plain farmers and villagers as well as nobles. His work is built solely on contemporary documents; in this study his main sources were surviving parish registers, records of village and town magistrates (*byfogeder*) who had recorded the *förlov* duties paid by persons moving out of a community, and registers of trade licenses. He includes forty-three towns scattered over areas like Scania, the islands of Zeeland, Falster, Laaland, and Funen, as well as the Jutland mainland, with the seven towns of Horsens, Kolding, Nykøbing on Mors, Randers, Viborg, Aalborg, and Aarhus. Examination of a single table from among many—in this case on Aarhus—which lists how many persons moved to new domiciles and the occupations they followed, may be of interest to students of

early modern society. The Aarhus table classifies 245 individuals under 8 main groups of occupations, including 135 in clothing, 17 in food, 31 in housing, 30 in seafaring, 41 in metals, 14 in trade, 23 miscellaneous, and 54 unclassified. The 39 per cent listed under "clothing" had 44 shoemakers, 40 tailors, 23 weavers, 5 furriers, 3 glovemakers, a bonnetmaker, 2 sewers ("needlers"), and a mittenmaker. Seafaring (9 per cent) showed 18 skippers, 4 shipbuilders, 3 boat crewmen, 2 ships' carpenters, a ropemaker, a sailmaker, and a steersman. The "unclassified" (15 per cent) had 16 carpenters, 11 coopers, 8 saddlemakers, 6 coachmasters, 4 harnessmakers, 2 wheelmakers, a block-maker, a laborer, and a bookbinder. Though the Aarhus records are relatively complete, they include no butchers. Despite such omissions, the discerning reader gains an informing picture of the occupations followed by village inhabitants in Denmark in the first six decades of the seventeenth century, and of their movements. Another table shows where 211 persons arrested by Copenhagen authorities came from during the years 1624-1654. The bulk were from Danish towns and villages and from Norway, barely 10 per cent from foreign areas stretching from Finland to France. In the same period it appears that only 111 craftsmen and other "nice burghers" came to Copenhagen. The book is not easy reading, but it presents in concrete detail much data for the period that is not available elsewhere.

University of California, Los Angeles

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD

FOR FRED OG FRIDOM I KRIGSTID, 1939-1940. By *Halvdan Koht*. (Oslo: Tiden Norsk Forlag, 1957. Pp. 307.) As a historian, writer, and professor, Halvdan Koht prepared himself for the post of foreign minister with an abundant personal knowledge of European and American history. He used it all when, from 1936 to 1940, he directed Norway's policies toward her neighbors during years of tension, the first months of war and neutrality, the war in Norway, and exile in London. The controversies over blame for Norway's occupation have impelled Koht to defend himself, but the barbs of critics and the smudge left by the Storting investigation of 1945-1946, with a committee composed of fellow historians, have plagued him. His present work is another self-defense, which avoids repetition (and thus creates confusion) and seeks new ground. Few doubt Koht's sincerity in striving to prevent Norway's entanglement in war, and most recognize the constant transgressions of her neutrality by Britain and France. We do not doubt that the Germans benefited from this same neutrality which barred British naval forces from halting shipments of iron ore from Narvik. In a way, Koht's account seems to open the way for accusations of pro-Germanism by putting foremost British violations of neutrality while omitting references to Germany. Other charges that Koht attempts to answer are those of foolish and unwise dependence on German observation of Norway's neutrality and his failure to heed warnings about German military-naval preparations for invasion. He replies to the first indirectly by pointing to the advantages gained by Germany from Norwegian neutrality, which should have made Hitler hesitant about destroying a system entirely favoring his plans in Europe. The second charge, bordering on accusations of incompetence, Koht answers by placing blame on Norwegian diplomats in Berlin, who failed to warn him in time, and on the Swedes for not giving him information from their reports. Sweden and the Swedes do not emerge "sweetly" from this book. The last, and most difficult, chapters tell about Koht's departure from the cabinet in the fall of 1940. Personal jealousies and petty grudges within the cabinet, fostered by Oscar Torp, and Koht's weariness after more than a year of incessant duty, prompted him to ask for a leave, later followed by resignation. Despite rumors of the time, the British are not blamed; their dislike would have been easier to bear than his own colleagues' intrigues. Koht's ac-

count of his role as foreign minister is not an easy book to read for it is written in his own version of "new Norwegian," and it necessarily omits much. Likewise it is not an easy book to review. To one who has known and greatly admired Koht and has received his counsel, it seems unfortunate that he thought it necessary to write in his own defense.

Occidental College

RAYMOND E. LINDGREN

ANDERS DE BRUCE, 1723-1787: EN FÖRVALTNINGSHISTORISK UNDER-SÖKNING. By *Hans Hirn*. [Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, XLVI.] (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1957. Pp. 475.) Historians interested in eighteenth-century Finland have rarely written about the administration of the eastern half of the Swedish kingdom. Part of the explanation for this lies in the difficulty of using the extremely scattered sources necessary to write good administrative history. Hans Hirn has met this problem head on and has utilized national and local, public and private collections on both sides of the Gulf of Bothnia as well as printed sources and secondary works. The documentation is exemplary, and the style is clear, sober, and restrained, in the best tradition of Scandinavian scholarship. This is not only an interesting biography but also a valuable insight into the milieu in which Anders de Bruce lived and worked. Bruce was descended from a Scottish family that settled in Swedish territory during the seventeenth century. His father fled Finland during the Great Northern War, and Bruce was born and educated in Sweden. In 1744, he accompanied an uncle to Finland where, aside from trips to Sweden, he spent the rest of his life. From 1748 to 1763 he worked with Ehrensward on new fortifications designed to hold back Russian invasions. In 1777, Gustav III appointed him governor of Nyland and Tavastehus, and he remained in this position until his death. During this period, with which the monograph is chiefly concerned, Bruce dealt effectively with such problems as roads, manufacturing, taxes, schools, grain shortages, the implementation of land reforms, religious sects, and even a rush to emigrate to St. Bartholomew, Sweden's newly acquired West Indian colony. This monograph is a strong argument in favor of the importance of administrative history both for its own sake and as a way to a better understanding of history in a broader sense. In his portrait of an unusually energetic and competent official, Hirn has deepened our knowledge of the eighteenth century in Finland and Sweden and contributed to further enlightenment on this period in general European history.

University of California, Riverside

ERNST EKMAN

DIE UNIVERSITÄT GREIFSWALD UND IHRE STELLUNG IN DER SCHWEDISCHEN KULTURPOLITIK, 1637-1815. By *Ivar Seth*. (2d ed.; Berlin: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften. 1956. Pp. xi, 329.) A German translation of the earlier doctoral thesis written in Swedish, this study fits into a general consideration of the role of the Swedish universities since their beginning. Greifswald, under Swedish rule, never became an integral part of the Swedish educational system. For a century, Swedish administrators did not consider it important. In 1666 and 1699 it received needed attention, but not until the Enlightenment and the 1740's was a fairly constant and significant policy followed. By then it was too late to achieve much. The University of Greifswald was not able to compete with better located schools for German-speaking students nor could it attract enough Swedish students to influence Sweden deeply. It never was able to draw and keep productive scholars. As a result, this fine study becomes in part a "chronicle of small beer." The improvement begun in the eighteenth century came too late and was undone by the Napoleonic wars. Nevertheless the school became the academic home of such Swedes as Bengt Lidner and Thomas Torild and of

such Germans as J. C. Dähnert and Th. H. Gadebusch. There is much detail about the teaching staff, the curriculum, and the constant struggle to do something with too few professors, too few students, and inadequate resources.

University of Southern California

FRANCIS J. BOWMAN

RUDOLF WALDEN, 1878–1946. By *Einar W. Juva*. (Helsinki: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö. 1957. Pp. xi, 640.) The subject of this first-rate biography by a leading Finnish historian had a distinguished and many-sided career. Rudolf Walden helped greatly in developing Finland's paper industry; for two decades (1921–1941) he was head of a large concern, the Yhtyneet Paperitehtaat Osakeyhtiö. A hard-driving and talented entrepreneur, he modernized and expanded the YPO facilities, opened foreign markets, and pioneered in worker welfare programs (a paternalism which coupled with his political conservatism made him a target of leftists). Yet Walden's first love had not been business. As a young man he enrolled in the Hamina Cadet School and became an officer in the Finnish Guard. In 1902 his military career seemingly came to an inglorious end when he was dismissed for refusing to serve on a tribunal trying Finnish evaders who had denounced the Russian initiated conscription law as illegal. Yet in subsequent years Finland was to make much use of Walden's military abilities. He was named chief of the quartermaster's department during the civil war of 1918 and rose to the rank of major general. He then became minister of war (1918–1919) and laid the foundations of the new republic's armed forces. In 1931 he was appointed to a newly created council of defense. During the winter war Walden was Mannerheim's liaison officer attached to the government. In March, 1940, he became minister of defense, a difficult post that he filled with distinction until a severe stroke incapacitated him in November, 1944. Walden also played an important diplomatic role, taking part in three highly significant Finnish-Russian peace negotiations—in 1920, 1940, and 1944. He spoke Russian fluently and due to a fifteen-year residence in Russia was well informed on conditions there. Professor Juva has wisely chosen a broad canvas, giving us not only a portrait of Walden (charmingly enlivened by glimpses of Walden as husband, father, and employer) but a political and economic history of his times. While the study lacks a formal bibliography, it is well documented with footnotes and rests upon a wide range of published and unpublished sources, the most important being the Walden papers in the YPO archives. It does not diminish the stature of Juva's achievement to suggest that his account probably has not emptied the Walden treasury. Future Mannerheim biographers will want to reexamine the carefully kept notes and memoranda of the marshal's long-time "friend and counsellor." Students of Finnish-American diplomatic relations, too, should find Walden's extensive correspondence with Finland's wartime minister to Washington, Hj. Procopé, worth probing.

Heidelberg College

JOHN I. KOLEHMÄINEN

DER SEEKRIEG: THE GERMAN NAVY'S STORY, 1939–1945. By *Vice Admiral Friedrich Ruge*. Translated by *Commander M. G. Saunders*. (Annapolis, Md.: United States Naval Institute. 1957. Pp. xviii, 440. \$5.00.) The professed object of this book is "to provide a general picture of naval warfare in the Second World War, to show the interaction of sea and land operations, the great effect of naval warfare on land campaigns, and the influence of naval strategy on the major decisions of politics and war." The author has succeeded admirably in this large undertaking. He has, in fact, exceeded his goal because *Der Seekrieg* also provides a concise survey of the German Navy from World War I up to 1957. Admiral Ruge is uniquely qualified to write this book, which covers the period of his own career in the Imperial German Navy, the

Reichsmarine, and the navy of the German Federal Republic, which he now serves as its commanding officer. Thus he writes from wide personal experience and interest, as well as on the basis of much careful research, and his excellent book, packed with up-to-date information on the German Navy, tells many things that have not been told elsewhere. The exposition is clear and succinct. Commander Saunders' readable translation is very well done. *Der Seekrieg* is a major contribution to the naval history of World War II. It explains Axis errors, failures, and shortcomings with great candor and—things considered—objectivity. The author's forthright expression of his views on Allied activities of World War II is interesting, but it should be kept in mind that these activities were aimed at winning a war of aggression started by the Axis. Ruge's observations on wartime leaders are candid but temperate. Of Churchill he says: ". . . a strong and resolute man, who . . . tended to take too much on his own shoulders." He says of Hitler: "He failed to see that it was far beyond his capacity to solve singlehanded the numerous problems that arose. Indeed he never developed into a true statesman, but remained the revolutionary and the prophet, always more concerned with the unquestioning obedience of his disciples than with the capacity of his collaborators." And elsewhere: "Neither Hitler or Mussolini had any real concept of the capabilities of seapower—especially the striking force of the air arm of that power."

Bethesda, Maryland ROGER PINEAU

RKFDV: GERMAN RESETTLEMENT AND POPULATION POLICY, 1939-1945. A HISTORY OF THE REICH COMMISSION FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF GERMANDOM. By *Robert L. Koehl*. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 31.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. xi, 263. \$6.50.) In a conscientious examination of one of the branches of Heinrich Himmler's SS empire, Professor Koehl seeks to analyze Nazi resettlement in World War II. One can only welcome such case studies, which provide the essential building blocks for a reconstruction of the theory and practice of Hitlerism. And one can only applaud the author's thoroughness and thoughtfulness in surveying the tedious materials of the Nuremberg trials, on which his book is largely based. While his conclusions might not have been very different, it is regrettable that he chose not to use such valuable sources as the Himmler files and the records of other agencies that were likewise involved in the "resettlement business." Moreover, the isolation of the RKFDV from other bodies dealing with population (and depopulation) policy in wartime Germany makes for some segmentation of the evidence and consequently limits the conclusions somewhat. The author evinces a keen insight into the operation of the Nazi elite—the complex personal feuds overlapping with differences in outlook and predilections, producing interminable conflicts and inefficiency—and, more generally, the inherent clash between long-range objectives and wartime needs, resulting in compromises and makeshift arrangements. Koehl divides the work of the RKFDV into three phases: essentially, the period of the Nazi-Soviet pact, during which (he feels) the consolidation of Germans from eastern and southeastern Europe along the new borders of the Reich was "quite reasonable"; the following year or two, in which, from France to the Crimea, both ambitions and operations were at their peak—a "flashy grandeur [which] concealed insoluble problems"; and the withdrawal and rout of 1943-1945, when the policy of the RKFDV became "a series of desperate stratagems." While some of the author's contentions appear to this reader as questionable or at least deserving of amplification, this is nonetheless a most useful and thorough analysis of a particularly confused, yet very characteristic, aspect of Nazi activity.

Columbia University

ALEXANDER DALLIN

UNHEARD WITNESS. By *Ernst Hanfstaengl*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1957. Pp. 317. \$4.95.) "What a book he could write!" Ambassador William Dodd noted in his diary in March, 1937, when he heard of the disappearance of Hanfstaengl, Nazi "foreign press chief" and supposedly one of Hitler's closest confidants since 1923. If Hanfstaengl's book is, like its author, somewhat flamboyant, it is still a very revealing discussion of the Nazi movement up to 1934, when its author fell from grace. No one close to Hitler in the early 1920's, except Kurt Ludecke, has written anything comparable, and no one of the few survivors of that circle probably will. Hanfstaengl, Harvard class of 1909, who had spent the war years in this country, met Hitler at Munich in November, 1922. There is ample testimony elsewhere to his important role in the party in 1923, as well as to the hostility of old-line party members toward him. While he was neither a major public representative of the movement nor on the inside in planning the November *Putsch*, he helped to make Hitler "respectable" to "respectable" conservatives and supplied some funds. His enthusiastic impromptu performances on the piano furnished a sedative for Hitler's nerves—somewhat as years later Dr. Felix Kersten's massage soothed Himmler, and with similar results, in giving frequent private access to Hitler. Hanfstaengl knew well the other party leaders and the fantastic interplay of Rightist groups in Bavaria. Dietrich Eckart and Scheubner-Richter, along with Goering, Röhm, and Rosenberg (a perennial foe of Hanfstaengl) are viewed as major early figures. Regrettably, Hanfstaengl tells much less than he could about the underground existence of the Nazi party after the failure of the *Putsch* of 1923. The view of Hitler's personality is of course particularly interesting—the oratorical genius, the demoniacal pattern of political thought, the sexual maladjustment. Hitler's innate dangerousness grew under the influence of the *Führer* cult, the acquisition of full power, and the evil genius of Goebbels and was uninhibited after the Röhm purge of 1934. Even then, Hitler kept as his intimate circle the old guard from Munich, minus Hanfstaengl—men "too stupid to be anything but loyal and too unambitious to be a danger." Hanfstaengl stayed on in a dubious position—as he appeared to various American observers in the mid-1930's—until, fearing for his life, he escaped to Switzerland. Something of his subsequent career is included here (see also "Jay Franklin," *The Catoclin Conversation*). These are fascinating memoirs.

Harvard University

REGINALD H. PHELPS

L'ABATE FRANCESCO BONARDI E I SUOI TEMPI: CONTRIBUTO ALLA STORIA DELLE SOCIETÀ SEGRETE. By *Arturo Bersano*. [Biblioteca di Storia Italiana Recente, Nuova Serie, Volume I.] (Turin: Deputazione Subalpina di Storia Patria. 1957. Pp. 373. L. 3,500.) Investigation into the labyrinths of the secret society of the early nineteenth century is, at best, a frustrating experience and very often a thankless task. Consequently, the author is to be doubly admired for having the patience to devote a lifetime to rummaging in the closets of the secret societies and for publishing his findings correcting a host of misconceptions long assumed to be fact in the history of Italy. Bersano has dissipated the mist that shrouded the life of the abbot Francesco Bonardi, and another hero can take his proper place in the pantheon of the Risorgimento. The abbot typified the *avant-garde* liberal expecting the millennium for his beloved Italy from the liberating forces of revolutionary France. He welcomed the invaders and for a time represented his district in the Corps Legislatif in Paris. Disillusioned by the failure of Napoleon to create a free Italy, Bonardi turned to conspiracy against the empire. At this point the author develops the most significant part of his study, a detailed account of the conspiratorial work of the Adelfi, the Federati, and the Carbonari in northern Italy, tracing the development of the pro- and anti-Napole-

onic forces in the secret societies as well as describing the quasi-masonic character of one and the antimasonic program of another. Bonardi is only one of several acquiring new stature among the patriots of the Risorgimento for conspiratorial activity. More important is the fact that much of the credit heretofore given to the Carbonari for the events of 1821 in Piedmont is proved to have been misplaced, and the Adelfia and the Federazione are raised to their proper position of importance in the Piedmontese underground of the last century. The appendix includes an excellent discussion of the activities of the Jansenists in Piedmont in the period in question, a fascinating subject and one virtually unknown outside of Piedmont. All in all, the volume augurs well for the new series on modern Italy.

University of Mississippi

GEORGE A. CARBONE

L'AGRICOLTURA IN LOMBARDIA DAL PERIODO DELLE RIFORME AL 1859: STRUTTURA, ORGANIZZAZIONE SOCIALE E TECNICA. By *Mario Romani*. [Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del S. Cuore, Nuova Serie, Volume LIX.] (Milan: Società Editrice "Vita e Pensiero." 1957. Pp. 287. L. 2,500.) Although he deals here with one of the areas of Italy most famous for its agriculture, Professor Romani shows convincingly (and with a scholar's dedication) that we know less of Lombard agriculture than we should. He has written before on Lombard demography in this period, and this work is part of his larger plan to study the "natural, psychological, and institutional elements" of his chosen subject. With immense bibliographical knowledge helpfully displayed, he uses both foreign and Italian studies in addition to his own extensive research. He easily establishes the importance of agriculture in the life of Lombardy, and the significant agricultural (and sociological) differences among the areas of plain, hill, and mountain form part of the very organization of his book. The picture thus presented is not startling. Indeed, here is the substance of many of our standard, if sometimes disembodied, clichés. Yet there are important implications in Romani's estimate that little change occurred in the number of landowners before 1796 (although the reduction in ecclesiastical lands was well under way) or that the relations between peasant and owner remained largely unchanged until the "eve of 1848." Certainly, the book makes clear that Lombard agriculture was neither so technically advanced nor so adventurously receptive to new ideas as sometimes pictured. This is, however, primarily a manual, which under each chapter and subheading presents a carefully organized and clear digest of available information. Such organization discourages interpretation, and no real effort is made to provide those generalizations that would be most helpful to historians. The basic information, carefully documented in text and tables, is here, however, and nearly every section has its provocative passages. There is real richness in footnotes so extensive as to provide almost an anthology of writings on Lombard agriculture, with samples of comments by famous economists, historians, and foreign travelers from the eighteenth century to the present. The appendix ranges from the heavily statistical to such fascinating tidbits as the topics of the *Società Patriottica's* annual prize essay (1778-1796).

Brandeis University

RAYMOND GREW

IL PARTITO POPOLARE ITALIANO. By *Edith Pratt Howard*. Translated by *Paolo Vittorelli*. [Documenti della crisi contemporanea, Number 16.] (Florence: La Nuova Italia. 1957. Pp. xxiv, 523. L. 2,300.) Almost like Caesar's Gaul, postwar Italian historical production on the modern period may be divided into three parts—the literature on Giolitti, socialism, and the Catholic movement—all well-nigh historiographical taboos under Fascism. On the first two a long discourse would be necessary; on the

Catholic movement, particularly on its most significant political expression before and slightly after the so-called "March on Rome," we now have the diligent and praiseworthy work by Edith Pratt Howard on Don Sturzo's Popular party. Proper and interesting as the fact is that a fine study written in English on an Italian historical subject should be available in Italian, it is a source of some wonder that the English-reading scholar should have it first in this form. It is hoped that a bold American publisher will soon do it in the original. There has been no dearth of studies on political Catholicism, as the useful review article by Guido Verucci (in the *Rivista Storica Italiana*, LXVIII [1956], 447-510, 620-69) shows. The fact is, however, that the only full-fledged history of the Italian Popular party has thus far been the officious presentation by Stefano Jacini, though two new works have recently been announced by the Italian presses. Mrs. Pratt Howard's book has indeed filled a gap. Moreover, she has done so with a research apparatus and documentation that are as impressive as her approach and treatment are fair. It certainly would require—and deserve—more than this brief note to do her study real justice. Be it sufficient here to point out that Mrs. Pratt Howard has given her work true historical dimension both in chronological depth and in European background. When, in the second part of the book, she enters the "dark forest" of Italian politics during the years 1919-1922, she does not lose her way by leaping into polemical marshes or by seeking to chop down all of the partisan trees. A political party such as Don Sturzo founded and guided in pre-Fascist Italy was bound to be at the same time powerful and delicate, yet not so powerful as to be able "to go it alone" toward its "democratic" goal or so delicate as to be easily broken merely by the non-"Christian" drive of its chief political opponents. If, as Mrs. Pratt Howard suggests, the PPI did not commit the "errors" of Socialists and Liberals it was nevertheless almost bound to fall prey to some of the very forces that constituted its strength. Don Sturzo himself was perhaps always torn by the antinomies inherent to Italian politics and hierarchical policy not less than by his inseparable personal-political and sacerdotal duties. Ultimately, unlike anything that might foreseeably befall its now almost "hegemonic" successor, Italian Christian Democracy, the unlucky political "parent," the PPI, fell victim, as Mrs. Pratt Howard rightly concludes, between the two stools, which came to be its abandonment by the hierarchy of the Church and the fearful violence of the triumphant Fascist state seeking to turn even the Church's spiritual mission into an *instrumentum regni*.

New York University

A. WILLIAM SALOMONE

ODRODZENIE I REFORMACJA W POLSCE [Renaissance and Reformation in Poland]. Volume I. (Warsaw: State Publishing House for the Polish Academy of Sciences, Historical Institute. 1956. Pp. 275. Zł. 42.) The Protestant Reformation in Poland has, in recent years, been the object of a revived interest on the part of Polish historians. The journal *Reformacja w Polsce* was ably edited by Professor Stanisław Kot from 1921 to 1939 (Volumes I to X). Its continuation after the war, edited by a committee of Professors Bartel, Barycz, and Szeruda, did not appear until 1953. Volume XI was a modest fascicle, but Volume XII (1956) was a substantial book of 460 pages. At that point a decision was made to broaden the field of interest by including the Renaissance in Poland, and the present volume is edited by the earlier committee with two additional members. The variety in the subjects treated by the various authors would indicate that the interest in the period is broad and imaginative. There are six major articles, two shorter notices, five substantial reviews, and a chronicle of professional events in Poland. In the first article, "The Beginnings of the Reform Movement in Little Poland," Barycz contends that the area around Cracow, especially the university,

was more active in the reform movement than has hitherto been thought. He finds that the reform was particularly welcomed by the peasantry and the artisan class, from which, he points out, the early intellectual leaders of the movement arose. This intellectual aspect of the early movement may explain why Calvinism was so congenial to the Polish Protestants. In the second article, by Kazimierz Lepszy and Anna Kamińska, on "The Origins and the Program of the Radical Wing of the *Fratres poloni*," the authors stress the economic and class factors in the movement and insist that the working classes used the Reformation as an instrument against the feudality. It is a little confusing to find Calvinism here depicted as the faith of the nobility, and Arianism, that is, a professedly rationalistic faith, as the choice of the artisan and peasant classes. Waclaw Urban, in his article, "The Fate of the *Fratres poloni* from the Racovian Synod (1569) to Their Expulsion from Poland (1662)," finds over two hundred Arian communes, mostly in Little Poland. Strangely enough he finds that a majority of the members of these communistic groups were bourgeois. The author admits his puzzlement. Janusz Tazbir develops an explanation of "The Struggle against the *Fratres poloni* during the Reformation." The Brothers were attacked by both Catholics and Protestants, at first without the help of the state, as rationalists; later the then dominant Catholic hierarchy used all the agencies of church and state to extirpate the "heretics." Without the help of the secular arm the attack had to be a propaganda campaign. When church and state were again at one, all means could be used to rid the country of the hated dissidents. These studies represent a great amount of scholarly work, and the sources have been thoroughly combed for what they could yield. It is not unfair to wonder if this class struggle approach may not hide as much as it reveals.

University of Colorado

S. H. THOMSON

MOSCOW AND EAST ROME: A POLITICAL STUDY OF THE RELATIONS OF CHURCH AND STATE IN MUSCOVITE RUSSIA. By William K. Medlin. [Études d'histoire économique, politique et sociale, Number 1.] (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz. 1952. Pp. xv, 17-252.) When the Russians accepted Christianity from Constantinople in A.D. 987 they also adopted the Byzantine system of close cooperation between civil rulers and Orthodox hierarchs. By painstaking research Dr. Medlin has proved that not only did the actions of Russian princes and prelates conform to the Greek pattern but also the very language of the ecclesiastics at state ceremonies derived from Byzantine sources. Indeed, so thorough was the Russian schooling in Orthodoxy that when at the Council of Florence the Greeks accepted papal jurisdiction, the Russians turned against their mentors with the conviction that Moscow—the "Third Rome"—was the sole abode of the true faith. After the fall of Constantinople the Russian autocrats, who were the only independent Orthodox rulers, assumed the role of universal protectors of Orthodoxy that the Greek emperors had previously performed. The Muscovite rulers continued to follow the Byzantine pattern and to quote Greek precedents when supporting the church against heretics and protecting its lands. Indeed, when the Russians encountered the pressure of the Catholic West they turned again to the Greeks for theological support. In the seventeenth century, however, the Russian version of Greek theocracy broke down. A series of weak rulers permitted strong churchmen to assert themselves, with the result that Patriarch Nikon finally claimed pre-eminence over the civil power. Tsar Alexis, faced with this challenge, had the troublesome hierarch deposed. This episode left the church vulnerable, and a few decades later it felt the violent hand of Peter the Great, the most un-Orthodox of the tsars. The

author's conclusion, which he effectively supports, is that the Byzantine system worked well in Russia and that disaster befell the Russian church when it departed from it.
Duke University

JOHN SHELTON CURTISS

ROAD TO REVOLUTION: A CENTURY OF RUSSIAN RADICALISM. By *Avrahm Yarmolinsky*. (London: Cassell and Company. 1957. Pp. xiii, 369. 25s.) This book says nothing that is fundamentally new about the Russian revolutionary movement in the nineteenth century, nor does it pretend to do so; but it says what is old very well indeed, in fact, as well as it has ever been said in English in a work of comparable scope. Beginning with Radishchev at the end of the eighteenth century, Mr. Yarmolinsky leaves his story with the disintegration of the People's Will in the years immediately after 1881. His method is primarily narrative, but, in a movement where action was always considered the end of theory, narrative by right deserves a prominent position, and Yarmolinsky has told his story in extremely lively and lucid fashion. The climax of interest is, naturally enough, the "going-to-the-people" movement and the terroristic activities of the People's Will in the 1870's. Here for the English-language public the comparison with David Footman's *Red Prelude* is inevitable; Yarmolinsky has turned in a performance which, if it is less rich in dramatic detail, is better balanced in its treatment of revolutionary theory and in the broader historical perspective given to the story. Interwoven with the narrative is a good deal of subtle characterization of personalities and intellectual trends. Particularly well done are the sketches of Radishchev, Herzen, the members of the Petrashevskii circle, Chernyshevskii, and Pisarev. These characterizations are always succinct but exactly in focus, the product of much more work and reflection than the effortlessness of the presentation betrays. Yarmolinsky has drawn on a large body of material, much of it scattered throughout a wide range of Russian periodicals, which, if it is not exhaustive, is very full indeed. In addition it includes a few items which will no doubt be new even to the specialist, such as the American careers of two members of the People's Will, Hartmann and Degaev. This is an excellent piece of high-level popularization that will bring pleasure and enlightenment to the nonspecialist reader and will no doubt prove a useful addition to the reading in courses on modern Russian history.

Harvard University

MARTIN MALIA

SOVIET DIPLOMACY AND THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR. By *David T. Cattell*. [University of California Publications in International Relations, Volume 5.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1957. Pp. x, 204. \$3.00.) Since the London Non-Intervention Committee was the most important vehicle of Soviet diplomatic activity during the Spanish Civil War, Mr. Cattell's book deals principally with the history of this committee. Its proceedings are carefully traced from August, 1936, through late 1938. During more than half of this period Soviet Russia sold munitions and supplied food and medicines to the Republic, and throughout the period Russia tried by a variety of diplomatic methods to press England and France to take a firmer attitude toward the far more massive intervention of the Fascist powers on behalf of Franco. Of the principal member nations on the committee, three (Portugal, Italy, and Germany) were openly backing the forces of General Franco, while, through the nonintervention formula, France hoped to avoid a European war and England hoped for a Nationalist victory which would still not leave Franco a mere satellite of the Axis. Thus Cattell is in the difficult position of writing soberly about some of the most hypocritical and evasive diplomacy in recent history. Eventually he points out many of the inadequacies of the committee's statements, yet his own judgment seems at times to be misled by

their verbiage. He states that in the "battle of recriminations" during October and November of 1936 "the Soviet Union emerged the worst" because its own worldwide espionage network failed to uncover concrete evidence of Fascist violations and because it had to rely on incomplete and inaccurate reports of the Republican government. At the same time, he says, the Italians were able to satisfy the committee that the Soviet steamer *Kuban* was carrying munitions as well as food and medical supplies to Spain. Actually, the unloading of Italian and German planes, tanks, munitions, and personnel in Spanish and Portuguese ports during these months was repeatedly attested to by correspondents of the best American, English, and French newspapers. Portuguese and Nationalist radio stations were also boasting of this aid. If in the meetings of the Non-Intervention Committee the Soviet representative could not get England and France to recognize the evidence of their own reporters and of pro-Franco radio stations, what would have been the point of introducing evidence from the Soviet Secret Service? When Cattell writes that "most of the charges [against Italy, Germany, and Portugal] were easily repudiated for lack of substantiating evidence," he appears to take at face value the judgment of a committee which proved repeatedly its desire to shield Hitler and Mussolini while accepting Italian evidence against the Soviets. A comparison of the present book with contemporary journalistic reports and with the Toynbee *Survey of International Affairs* left this reviewer feeling that the earlier accounts were just as complete and better interpretations.

Wellesley College

GABRIEL JACKSON

NEAR EAST

KURDS, TURKS, AND ARABS: POLITICS, TRAVEL, AND RESEARCH IN NORTH-EASTERN IRAQ, 1919-1925. By C. J. Edmonds. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xiii, 457. \$6.75.) From 1918 to 1926, the fate of the former Ottoman province of Mosul was of vital concern to the Turks, the British, and the Iraqi Arabs, as well as to the Kurds who formed a majority of its population. Mr. Edmonds, a British political officer who played a responsible part in the events, has written an account of the Mosul question as he saw it. The framework of the book is a memoir of the author's career in Iraqi Kurdistan in 1919 and from 1922 to 1925. The author has superimposed upon his narrative detailed descriptions of the geography of the districts in which he served, the organization, traditions, and history of the Kurds in the same districts, and his archaeological explorations. The book is not a comprehensive study of the Kurds or of the Mosul question. The material on the Kurds, however, contains much that is new and important. The author's account of the way in which the Kurds were held under British influence and induced to adhere to Iraq provides a long-needed supplement to the existing literature on the formation of Iraq. Most studies of this period in Iraqi history have been written on the assumption that only the Arabs mattered. The official reports do little more than outline the main events in Kurdistan, and the "old Kurd hands," unlike their counterparts among the Arabs, have been slow to publish memoirs. No major theses are developed, but Edmonds does make a few judgments, the most important of which is that "the appointment of Sir John Salmond [to the Iraq Command in October, 1922] came only just in time to save Iraq; we were on the run and, had the wilayet of Mosul been lost, Baghdad and Basra alone could hardly have made a viable state." The events described in the book support the judgment, but they also indicate that Edmonds and the other Kurdish "politicals" contributed quite as much to the formation of the kingdom of Iraq.

University of Illinois

C. ERNEST DAWN

FAR EAST

A HISTORY OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT: BEING THE STORY OF MUSLIM STRUGGLE FOR THE FREEDOM OF HIND-PAKISTAN, 1707-1947. Volume I, 1707-1831. (Karachi: Board of Editors. 1957. Pp. xiii, 630. Rs. 25.) On the initiative of the Pakistan government, a group of Pakistani scholars have undertaken a four-volume history of the Muslims in India from the death of Aurangzib in 1707 to the independence of Pakistan in 1947. The first volume, now published, covers the period 1707-1831, when Mughul power declined and when Muslim princes like Ahmad Shah, Nadir Shah, Haider 'Ali, and Tipu Sultan struggled for power with Mahrattas, Sikhs, and Britons. The volume concludes with a study of Muslim intellectual reactions to Muslim decline and British ascendancy as discerned in the ideas and activity of Shah Waliullah and Sayyid Ahmad Shahid (with whose death in 1831 the volume ends). The purpose of the history is to give a "truer perspective of the Muslim attitudes and activities" than hitherto has appeared. But can a "freedom movement," the signs of a new nation and a new culture, be discerned in the years 1707-1831? Certainly the activities of Muslim princes in preserving the Mughul empire or establishing their own kingdoms represented personal or Muslim imperialism rather than a freedom movement, and the attempt to impose a nationalistic interpretation on this history does not work satisfactorily. The Muslim defeat at Plassey is well handled, but other parts of the book suffer, sources are neglected or misused, and dubious interpretations appear. For example, the Mahrattas become a robber nation, leaving behind a trail of atrocities; the Muslim Nadir Shah is excused for the massacre and pillage of Delhi; Muslim enemies are painted in dark colors. In one place, British troops are described, on James Mill's authority, as having committed "unbridled cruelty on the young and old, women and children alike." Mill was misunderstood, for he mentioned nothing of these cruelties and in describing this event doubted that anything but the usual practices of war had occurred. Further, in the interpretation of British policy toward the Muslims, a dubious generalization appears: "From Clive to Mountbatten we can trace the clear stream of pro-Hindu and anti-Muslim policy of the British in India." This is difficult. A possible source of the freedom movement lies in the work of Waliullah and Sayyid Ahmad, but are these men rightly interpreted? The volume claims that the spirit of Waliullah's political thought "belongs to the modern world." Yet, the author soon reveals, Waliullah was a "medieval scholar," using medieval terms to compare his corrupt age to the Roman and Sassanid kingdoms before Mohammed. Waliullah and Sayyid Ahmad acted like medieval reformers urging a return to the civic and religious purity of Islam; they might represent the background but hardly the spirit of modern national freedom. Beyond these men, the volume treats Muslim culture and ideas insufficiently. Elphinstone's *Account of Caubul* is more complete. Indeed, while the volume is useful in giving the Pakistani viewpoint, it must, considering typographical errors, jumbled dates, and doubtful generalizations, be used with care.

Bowdoin College

GEORGE D. BEARCE, JR.

BIOGRAPHY OF KUNWAR SINGH AND AMAR SINGH. By K. K. Datta. [Historical Researches Series, Volume I.] (Patna, India: K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute. 1957. Pp. xii, 231, iv. Rs. 6.) It is inevitable that the history of the British *Rāj* in India should be rewritten by Indian historians. It is also understandable that events which British and other historians have described as "the Indian Mutiny" should in Indian hands become part of "the Indian Freedom Movement." Dr. K. K. Datta calls attention to the exploits of the brothers Kunwar and Amar Singh, who maintained

unbroken resistance to British pressure in Bihar over a two-year span (1857-1859). He successfully demonstrates the heroism and chivalry of the aged but agile Kunwar, Rajput zamindar, who at all times during his desperate struggle protected European civilians from violence. He also proves that the movement was much more than a mere mutiny of sepoys and included the people at large. Villagers who had seen no service as sepoys comprised a high percentage of the popular Rajput's force. More important, as the British themselves constantly complained, the people consistently afforded intelligence, aid, comfort, and transportation in terms of draft animals and river boats to the Singh brothers' forces while they denied these things to the British. Datta's analysis of the causes of the movement is most happy. Deep-seated discontent against the British *Rāj* in some sectors of the population was the major cause. The reasons for this discontent were interference with old beliefs, the activities of Christian missionaries, emphasis upon English-language education in India, inquiries into the caste and professions of the people of Patna, the quarantine of a Muslim pilgrim ship bound for Mecca, and the Resumption policy (Lapse). Datta properly submerges the matter of greased cartridges, so prominently featured in general histories of India, to its insignificant place by ignoring it. This and more makes Datta's book highly challenging. The only important fault is that the author, in his eagerness to prove his point, has allowed his exhaustive research to impair the flow of his narrative. The result, in spots, is difficult reading.

Northeastern University

ELMER H. CUTTS

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIA. By *Charles Henry Alexandrowicz*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. vi, 255. \$3.15.) This work is a description and an analysis of the ten years of Indian constitutional development since the country became independent in 1947. The principal sources used are the debates of the Constituent Assembly that drew up the Constitution, the Constitution itself, and the judicial decisions that have been made on some of the more controversial articles of the Constitution. Ten topics are treated: the interpretation of the Constitution, personal liberty and preventive detention, fundamental rights, freedom of trade, the directive principles of state policy, separation of powers and delegation of legislative powers, the real and nominal head of the executive, Indian federalism, the elections, and India and the family of nations. The Constituent Assembly, while it drew heavily on British, American, Canadian, Australian, and Irish constitutional experience and precedents, also incorporated many fundamental ideas based entirely on the Indian background. The result is a most interesting synthesis. Americans interested in constitutional history will of course find pleasure and profit in comparing these ten years in India with our own experiences from 1787 to 1797. The importance of the subjects treated in this book, however, are of much greater significance for Americans than the interest they arouse in students of legal and constitutional history. Too few Americans today realize that the triumph of this form of government in India is not inevitable. Two formidable alternatives may test the permanency of the Indian Constitution: Communism or a return to a native pre-British political system. The maintenance of the form of government described in this book is of great importance not only for the United States but for the entire free world. Unfortunately this book will not directly help the average American to realize the importance of constitutional developments in India, because of the way it is written. The first seven chapters read much like articles in law reviews. In fact, some of this material has been published in that form. The three concluding chapters, particularly the one on Indian federalism will, however, appeal to both specialists and laymen. Probably the best that can be hoped for is that

many educators, newspapermen, broadcasters, and magazine writers will read this book and inform the public about Indian constitutional development and its significance for Americans.

Western Reserve University

DONALD GROVE BARNES

THE UNION OF BURMA: A STUDY OF THE FIRST YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE. By *Hugh Tinker*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xiv, 424. \$6.75.) The purpose of this book, written by a historian of the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, is to survey the principal developments in Burma since she gained her independence in 1948. Although there are many gaps in this study, the work—following a concise opening chapter that summarizes the historical background prior to independence—provides information on politics, the development of *Pyidawtha* or the welfare state, current changes in government administration, culture and religion, education, agriculture, trade, industry, labor, defense, and foreign relations. The author discusses the two rather important aspects of postwar Burma that have commanded the attention of historians and economists: the formation of a socialist-welfare state by an underdeveloped nation desirous of achieving rapid industrialization and national self-sufficiency and the foreign policy of youthful Burma, with her earnest endeavor to be disassociated from both power blocs, thus achieving neutralism. Throughout the text one is aware that here is a nation trying to bring about a dynamic alternative to Communism in all aspects of national welfare. A brief section gives biographical information on prominent men and women of Burma, followed by a bibliography and index.

Library of Congress

Cecil Hobbes

PIONEER PEASANT COLONIZATION IN CEYLON: A STUDY IN ASIAN AGRARIAN PROBLEMS. By *B. H. Farmer*. With a foreword by *Lord Soulbury*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xxvii, 387. \$8.80.) Historians with or without a special interest in modern Asia will find much of value in this excellent "frontier" study, which deals with a quite different type of settlement and a different sort of pioneer from those of the American West. It is perhaps not generally realized that by tropical standards nearly two thirds of Ceylon is today a dry and derelict zone. A thousand years ago this upland seems to have been an advanced and flourishing area, watered by an impressive system of reservoirs and channels. Since the middle of the nineteenth century there has been discussion as to whether and how this zone might be made to prosper once again. Early in the 1930's, the colonial government of Ceylon initiated a program of reclamation and undertook the necessary clearing operations, irrigation works, and other preparatory measures before cultivators were moved in from the overcrowded southwestern corner of the island. The colonization movement attained sizable dimensions after 1948, under the sponsorship of the new Dominion government. By the end of 1953 about 90,000 persons (colonists plus their families) had been settled on an estimated 118,000 acres. Farmer reports that the average income of these colonists is significantly higher than that in their former home villages. In at least half of the colonies, as a matter of fact, the original settlers have been taking advantage of their improved economic status by giving out land to crop-sharers on a fifty-fifty basis. If this trend continues, Farmer fears, the agrarian problems of the wet zone will eventually reproduce themselves in the newly opened areas. On the one hand, there is great pressure from peasants who wish to be selected for resettlement. On the other

hand, the colonization program has been and remains a very costly affair for the government. A geographer by profession, Farmer has greatly enriched his treatment by drawing on relevant historical materials, utilizing the contributions of social and economic analysts of Ceylon, and comparing the Ceylonese experiment with similar ventures in a whole series of countries from the Sudan to the Philippines.

Bombay, India

DANIEL THORNER

GENESIS OF THE MEIJI GOVERNMENT IN JAPAN, 1868-1871. By *Robert A. Wilson*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume LVI.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1957. Pp. iv, 149. \$3.00.) This monograph is strictly for the specialist. It presents a description of the series of experimental governmental forms that followed in rapid succession after the overthrow of the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1868. The account ends with the abolition of autonomous feudal rule three years later and thus stops far short of the emergence of the permanent form of the Meiji government. The work assumes that the reader possesses a knowledge of the background and seems to contain a clutter of minute details and esoteric Japanese terms. But the monograph has far broader significance and value than might appear at first glance. The author succeeds in showing that amid the kaleidoscopic changes in governmental structure the principal members of the ruling oligarchy never lost sight of their fixed goal. This goal was to make Japan quickly into a strong national state, for which the destruction of feudalism and the concentration of power in a new central government were the prime requisites. Although some of the changes in governmental organization represented a random trial-and-error process, most of them—after the initial harsh disposal of the Tokugawa—are shown to have represented astutely subtle maneuverings by which the remaining feudal interests were jockeyed out of power and the central authority was strengthened with the maximum of finesse and the minimum of conflict. The author has based his work primarily on the standard Japanese compilations of the source materials of this period and on the accounts of the principal Japanese authorities. He has done a conscientious and meticulous job with materials which, because of their volume and linguistic difficulty, are only now beginning to be tapped systematically by the new generation of American scholars. He has corrected in several particulars the important but long-outdated pioneering studies of W. W. McLaren.

Ohio State University

KAZUO KAWAI

THE KOREA KNOT: A MILITARY-POLITICAL HISTORY. By *Carl Berger*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1957. Pp. 206. \$5.00.) This slim volume provides a narrative of recent international conflict over Korea. Beginning with the 1943 Cairo Declaration in which the United States pledged support for Korean independence "in due course," the familiar story of mounting tensions, war, and uneasy truce is traced through the Geneva Conference of 1954. While the title states that this is a military-political history, politics are emphasized. Indeed, discussion of the Korean War is confined mainly to an outline of General Douglas MacArthur's strategy. The combatants are seen dimly, if at all. A further limitation is that the narrative focuses on the American role in the Korean fracas. Relatively little space is devoted to the activities of the Koreans, Chinese, or Russians. Unlike some volumes dealing with the subject, this is not a political tract. The account is objective. The discussion, for example, of such controversial events as the American decision to intervene in Korea and the recall of MacArthur is balanced and based on all available data. Such impartiality recommends the book to the general reader. The specialist, however, will find little that is new. The volume is in reality a chronology drawn from widely distributed English-

language sources. This is not a criticism of shortcomings in the author's research. It is too early to write a thorough study of the Korean story.
North Carolina State College

BURTON F. BEERS

UNITED STATES

THE FRONTIER MIND: A CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE KENTUCKY FRONTIERSMAN. By *Arthur K. Moore*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1957. Pp. x, 264. \$5.00.) This is an interesting and provocative book, but the author's thesis and interpretations neither satisfy nor convince the reader. Moore deals only with society in Kentucky, but his interpretations are geared to the whole of the American frontier. He never seems to realize that studies of other frontier areas might show a different cultural development. The author, a professor of English at the University of Kentucky, never clearly defines the frontier. Picturing Kentucky as a mythological paradise—the Garden of Eden—he paints the frontiersmen as crude, individualistic, irresponsible, dogmatic, bigoted, and anti-intellectual. But he never portrays the social, religious, and political life of the people. He relies largely on the exaggerated, “tall tale,” type of sources and never gets down to reality. Hence the picture of frontier society is not only incomplete but also inaccurate. Moore criticizes the “buckskin hero” of the frontier as pictured by the romantic writers—Cooper, Simms, *et al.* In doing this he sets up a straw man who can be easily knocked down. He himself never analyzes the frontier mind but merely criticizes the analyses made by others. He both rejects and contradicts the frontier hypothesis enunciated by Frederick Jackson Turner. He attributes the general acceptance of the Turner thesis to a blatant, boastful national patriotism. Moore is not exactly at home in this area. He fails to grasp the meaning of many significant documents and happenings in American history, the Proclamation Line of 1763 and the laws of primogeniture and entail, for instance. Hence his historical judgments are sometimes wide of the mark. His statement that “There remains today no burning interest in the Civil War except among a group of southern partisans . . .” calls to mind the numerous Civil War Roundtables in the North and the brilliant writings of Bruce Catton on the Civil War. Again, the author seems unaware of the vigorous controversy in the historical profession about Turner's views; at least, he ignores it. Moore writes with zest and conviction. He lectures the historians in their own field and accuses them of exaggerating the contributions made by the American West to cultural progress. He can “discover no valid excuse for the widespread pretense that America somehow produced her own intellectual capital” except “ignorance, tact, or plain chauvinism.” It is to be hoped that such a challenge will lead to broader investigations in the field of frontier cultural life that will give better balanced interpretations of the subject.

University of North Carolina

FLETCHER M. GREEN

THE HISTORIE OF TRAVELL INTO VIRGINIA BRITANIA (1612). By *William Strachey*. Edited by *Louis B. Wright* and *Virginia Freund*. [Hakluyt Society Publications, Second Series Number CIII.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1953. Pp. xxxii, 221. \$7.50.) In the early summer of 1610 Secretary William Strachey arrived in Virginia with the other new officials who had survived the wreck of the *Sea Venture* and spent the winter in Bermuda. His vivid account of the disaster, circulated among members of the Virginia Company, inspired an official request that he prepare for the company a detailed report on the colony. During the year of his Virginia residence he made notes for the report and after his return to London began to assemble materials from other accounts, presumably with the purpose of writing a definitive history. The

work was never finished. For some unknown personal reason he prepared, late in 1612, a "first Catograph or Draught" and presented copies to the Earl of Northumberland and Sir Allen Apsley; six years later a third copy was presented to Sir Francis Bacon. The three manuscripts—in that order—are now in the Princeton University Library, the Bodleian Library, and the British Museum. Although Strachey's faith in Virginia's future was comparable to Hakluyt's, his realistic view of conditions in the colony contrasted sharply with promotional propaganda. The report was ignored until 1849, when the Hakluyt Society published the Bacon manuscript with editorial notes by R. H. Major. This new edition, prepared by Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund, is based on the Percy manuscript recently given to Princeton University. Originally, this copy was the most carefully prepared of the three, and it is here edited with comparable care. Major's notes are combined with additional information from new research, and Strachey, his work, and his Virginia are presented with unobtrusive skill. When the reader needs help, there is a note to answer his question or to explain why there is no answer. And yet, Strachey is permitted to speak for himself whenever he is clearly intelligible. This is, in short, one of the best editorial achievements I have ever seen.

Colonial Williamsburg

JANE CARSON

ARTHUR DOBBS, ESQUIRE, 1689-1765, SURVEYOR-GENERAL OF IRELAND, PROSPECTOR AND GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA. By *Desmond Clarke*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1957. Pp. 232. \$6.00.) "Most situations are impossible," wrote A. J. Morrison in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* in 1917. With that epigram he brilliantly summed up the career of Arthur Dobbs as governor of North Carolina, so savagely portrayed by William L. Saunders in that colony's *Records* (introductions, Volumes V-VI). Arthur Dobbs's family moved to Carrickfergus in County Antrim in 1599. By 1689, when Dobbs was born, his family was established gentry, and Dobbs became high sheriff of Antrim, mayor of Carrickfergus, member of the Irish parliament, friend of Walpole, surveyor-general of Ireland, and, finally, governor of North Carolina (1753-1765). Cut off from positions of great power by the circumstances of his birth, Dobbs worked actively in the area reserved for friends of those in power. Dobbs escapes the charge of being a mere sycophant because his thinking and writing were critical of the *status quo*. While he supported the government in Ireland, he argued against the disabilities imposed upon Ireland's economy by law and circumstance. A firm believer in empire, he was critical of the lax attitude of the government toward the American colonies and toward the threat of the French in North America. Because of his imperial view, both in Ireland and America he found himself in opposition to what became patriotic, and therefore correct, causes, even though his views, especially with regard to the navigation laws, were more liberal than the times would allow. And so his successes became failures. It is almost as though it were a failure of the times as well as of the man. He lacked neither energy nor intelligence—his situation was always impossible. Desmond Clarke, librarian of the Royal Dublin Society (of which Dobbs was a founder), has utilized materials in the United Kingdom as well as published and unpublished sources in North Carolina for this first book-length portrait of Dobbs. It is an intelligent, perceptive portrait. This is true despite the curious fact that Clarke fails on all the little tests of historical scholarship—accurate quotation, careful citation, use of the latest researches, exploitation of all available sources—and adds little to our understanding of Ireland or North Carolina. Dobbs emerges as a real and believable person—maybe that seems impossible, but that is the situation.

Institute of Early American History and Culture

LAWRENCE W. TOWNER

SWEDISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN FREEDOM 1776-1783. Volume II. By *Amandus Johnson*. [The Swedes in America 1638-1938, Part VII.] (Philadelphia: Swedish Colonial Foundation. 1957. Pp. xvi, 463. \$10.00.) This second volume of Dr. Johnson's study of Swedish personal and professional participation in the American Revolution gives us in 224 pages the available material on the individuals who served in the American, French, and Dutch services. It includes 248 persons with service records, plus 41 who may have been Swedes and 159 who may have served. Fifty-eight pages are devoted to the forty-nine who served under the English flag. The most valuable parts of the volume are the reports and "lists of merits" of Swedish participants, in which fourteen officers give accounts of their terms of service and experiences. A "Journal," the letters of Creutz, Swedish ambassador to France, concerning the Swedes in French service, and the correspondence of Gustavus III and Madame de Boufflers about the American War complete the volume. There are few criticisms to make: Nordenborg was captured by the Russians in 1809, not in 1789; a few misprints such as 1951 for 1751 are readily adjusted. The translations maintain a high standard. The value of the work is great. It accumulates the details from sources as variant as the records of Swedish churches, the accounts of prize agents in French and English ports, the commissions issued at Gothenburg, Stockholm, Brest, or Amsterdam, and the death lists of naval hospitals and ships' bays. From the pens of Swedish participants, we have new insights on the Savannah and Yorktown campaigns and sharply etched vignettes of the Battle of the Saints. This has been a Herculean task, accomplished as a labor of love. Dr. Johnson has succeeded in putting students of the American Revolution, and in this volume especially students of its naval aspect, deeply in his debt.

University of Southern California

FRANCIS J. BOWMAN

WASHINGTON AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *Esmond Wright*. [Teach Yourself History Series.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1957. Pp. 192. \$2.50.) Each volume in this series attempts "by way of a biography of a great man to open up a significant historical theme." Here, without documentation and in less than two hundred pages, is an attempt to portray Washington against the breakup of the British empire and the establishment of the new American nation. Familiar with recent research, Professor Wright, of the University of Glasgow, presents a lifelike Washington, placed in the pattern of his time. There are occasional slips: for example "Jacky" Custis dies twice in this book, five years apart, and the "Warren" Tavern becomes here the "White Horse" Tavern. There are sometimes inaccurate generalizations: Washington was almost certainly more of a "revolutionary" than Wright recognizes, and Hamilton's was not a major influence in drafting the Constitution. Yet this is an amazingly accurate volume; with Valcour Island, Howe in 1777, the "Conway Cabal," the general strategy of the war, the political climate in Great Britain, this author is more accurate than some of our own recent writers. A lively style ("Philadelphia . . . where piety marched with profit"), real insight into the major problems facing both antagonists in the struggle, and understanding of the personality and character of Washington are combined in this extraordinarily fine study.

New York State Teachers College, Cortland

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

THE BOOKS OF A NEW NATION: UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS, 1774-1814. By *J. H. Powell*. [Publications of the A. S. W. Rosenbach Fellowship in Bibliography.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1957. Pp. 170. \$4.50.) This is the first book to trace the evolution of "the United States in Congress assembled" and of the national government under the Constitution in terms

of their publications, down to 1814. Official publications reveal the administrative machinery and how it functioned, as Mr. Powell points out, but less about political principles than he implies, except for a few unique revolutionary documents. He evaluates the nineteenth-century compilers of government documentary lists, with special tribute to the versatile A. W. Greely, whose work was more thorough than that of some of the professional bibliographers. In his three chapters Powell discusses the official publications of the Continental Congress, First and Second; the Federal Convention and the new government of the United States to 1800; and the United States, 1800-1814. We learn that the authoritative phrase "Published by Order of the Congress" was used so freely during the Revolution that it is often difficult to distinguish between a bona fide document and a reprint; likewise, after 1789 numerous irregular printings for Congress by various printers complicate the task of the bibliographer and may lead the unwary historian astray. The author summarizes the problems involved in identifying the early drafts and printed issues of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution. He also surveys the successive printers for the government and the peculiar conditions arising from separate printing arrangements made by the Senate and the House of Representatives. The National Archives has yielded valuable information on the printer Roger Chew Weighman, Secretary Samuel A. Otis of the Senate, and the better-known Clerk John J. Beckley of the House during the Jeffersonian period. Since historically the government of the United States grew out of the deliberations of the Continental Congresses, Powell finds *The Association* (1774) of special interest to his subject. It is farfetched, however, in view of the objectives of the First Continental Congress, to assert that the delegates formed "a primitive, grass-roots American government" and that their first publication marked "the recorded beginning" of that government. It is important, of course, in the chain of antecedent events. A bibliographer of government publications would doubtless begin with the Declaration of Independence.

Institute of Early American History and Culture

LESTER J. CAPPON

THE BAPTIST CHURCH IN THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, 1776-1845. By Walter Brownlow Posey. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1957. Pp. viii, 166. \$5.00.) This brief monograph is a companion piece to *The Development of Methodism in the Old Southwest, 1783-1824* (1933) and *The Presbyterian Church in the Old Southwest, 1778-1838* (1952) by the same author. Twelve short chapters cover such topics as the ministry, church discipline, revivalism, missions, the slavery controversy, educational efforts, the formation of district associations and state conventions, Baptist rivalry with other denominations, and the increase of church membership. Of special significance are the discussions of Calvinism among the frontier Baptists and of the antissionary movement. The study is based on extensive research in primary sources, chiefly church minutes and religious periodicals. While recognizing the cultural backwardness of the Baptists in this period, the author takes a generally sympathetic position and concludes that the Gospel, even when purveyed by uneducated preachers, "strengthened the moral fiber of the people and improved civil conduct in the new communities." He emphasizes particularly the role of the Baptists in exemplifying and promoting "republican ideals." The book, however, is primarily factual and descriptive. It is to be hoped that the author will follow up his quarter century of research in this field with a more critical and analytical interpretation of the interaction between Christianity and the American frontier and of the role of evangelical Protestantism in the molding of Southern "character." What is his opinion, for instance, of the contentions of the late W. J. Cash that Southern ministers were "armored all too often in ignorance

and bitter fanaticism, virtually always in a rigid narrowness of outlook" and that they exercised an "always growing and generally inept sway over public affairs, over the whole mind of the South"?

Pennsylvania State University

IRA V. BROWN

THE WAR OF 1812 IN THE OLD NORTHWEST. By *Alec R. Gilpin*. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 1958. Pp. vii, 286. \$6.50.) This is more the work of an antiquarian than a historian, for it is a meticulously detailed and documented account of small military operations scattered over a huge region, and it is so crowded with inconsequential facts that it has no room for broad ideas. The first chapter, "Tippecanoe: Prelude to War," ignores the long-standing charge that Harrison's aggression broke the troubled peace in the West. Nor does Gilpin seem to see that the relentless pressure of the American frontier upon the red men's only way of life was provoking a new Indian war which could scarcely have been avoided even if the United States had refrained from declaring war on Britain for other reasons. When the latter event occurred, there were really two wars which merged, producing a messy conflict in the Old Northwest, made messier still by American incompetence. Of this the author gives many illustrations but no analysis. Neither does he mention the unexplained mystery of the British blockaders' five days' absence before Presque Isle, which turned the tide of the war in the West by allowing the American flotilla to escape from its trap and fight the battle of Put in Bay. More might have been made of how that engagement potentially undermined the whole British position west of Lake Ontario and why only the local prize was gathered—the British evacuation of Detroit and the southwest corner of Upper Canada—leaving British control over the American West out to the Mississippi as far down as Rock River to continue until hostilities ceased a year and a half after Perry's victory. In claiming that the War of 1812 did much for the American West, Gilpin forgets that there were two wars and does not consider what the outcome of the Indian war might have been if it had not been complicated by the British war.

Carleton University

A. L. BURT

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, 1845-1939. WIDENING HORIZONS, 1845-95. By *Wade Crawford Barclay*. [History of Methodist Missions, Volume III.] (New York: Board of Missions of the Methodist Church. 1957. Pp. xv, 1211. \$4.50.) In this extensive survey of approximately a half million words, Dr. Barclay presents the third volume of his vast and comprehensive History of Methodist Missions, projected in six volumes. It embraces the fifty-year span from 1845 to 1895. One hundred pages of closely printed references, notes, and bibliography at the end of the volume testify both to the scholarship and the prodigious research of the author. These fifty years embraced the most significant period in the expansion of Methodist missions both at home and in the foreign field. Changing conditions such as urbanism, the new industrialism, and our expanding international trade both afforded challenging opportunities and required many adaptations and readjustments. The missionaries in far-flung foreign lands not only had to cope with the language barrier but had to build their structure upon unfamiliar foundations to adapt it to the needs of the natives. Yet the flexibility of the Methodist organization and the broad base of its Arminian appeal gave the church unusual success despite a rigid discipline which demanded keeping houses and dooryards clean and the imposition of many practical hygienic measures absolutely foreign to the natives. Methodism was planted in China in the second half of the nineteenth century. All of the familiar features of the Methodist ecclesiastical

organization appeared—quarterly conferences, classes, Sunday schools, Epworth Leagues, a local native ministry, women's organizations. In Korea it was medicine that first opened the doors and enabled preachers to reach the people. In every continent throughout the world this church pressed its mission, and it did not neglect the home field, from the American Indians to the innumerable city missions. The vastness of its efforts, the multiplicity of its activities, its versatility in meeting changing conditions—all these are brought together in this encyclopedic work. A consistent pattern of development can be recognized. A need arises, an organization is created (forty-four vice presidents were allotted to the Women's Foreign Missionary Society), funds are raised. In the case of the WFMS these activities were not to compete with the contributions of members to the local missionary society lest the latter's funds become depleted. Publicity and the printing of a periodical usually follow and finally comes recognition by the General Conference. Care is exercised to avoid unnecessary duplication; for example, the Methodist Bible Society (1828) was dissolved in 1836 to eliminate competition with the newly formed American Bible Society. This volume takes its place as an indispensable source of information in all phases of the subject in the period covered. The Board of Missions maintains the excellency of the quality and appearance of this series at an unbelievably low price.

University of Maryland

W. M. GEWEHR

MEDICINE IN CHICAGO, 1850-1950: A CHAPTER IN THE SOCIAL AND SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENT OF A CITY. By *Thomas Neville Bonner*. (Madison, Wis.: American History Research Center. 1957. Pp. xvii, 302. \$5.00.) From the days of Fort Dearborn in the early nineteenth century, Chicago had her physicians and surgeons caring for those in distress as well as they could, despite generally little scientific training and poor equipment. From the experience of the Fort, not unlike that of other outposts of civilization, can be reckoned the beginnings of medical practice and concern over community health. Cholera, smallpox, and other epidemics occupied much of the time of the early physicians, and so virulent were these illnesses at times that they inevitably aroused an interest in public health, which has persisted to the present day. As modern medicine developed, leaders in the discovery of cures and those adopting what had been discovered elsewhere made possible lower mortality figures in Chicago than in many other places. Physicians, particularly during the nineteenth century, participated in the political as well as the scientific life of the city and in many ways showed a civic spirit that placed them in the vanguard of humanitarianism. Professor Bonner chooses to introduce his narrative of medicine in Chicago with a few pages devoted to pioneers before 1850. He directs his major attention, however, to the period from 1850 to 1950. He ranges over a wide area of topics in 225 pages of text, treating the rise and development of medical schools, societies, the proposals for cures for various ailments, conflicting theories that vexed medical men, humanitarian projects such as infant welfare, codes of ethics, leading physicians and surgeons, and other topics pertinent to a history of medicine. Obviously, in so short a book a brief discussion of any one subject is all that the author can assay, and the relationship of Chicago practice to similar developments in other communities is unfortunately sketchy. Some significant contributions made by recent Chicago centers where important research and experimentation have taken place claim attention, but there are, presumably because of space limitations, omissions of such important topics as the use of antitoxin in the mid-nineties by the Department of Health, one of the first municipal boards to give it an endorsement. Nostrums and quackery, as well as forms of exploitation, are not treated sufficiently, although they reflect the reaction of the public to what medical science

attempted to do. Bonner's bibliography evidences wide reading, although in a few cases questions can be raised as to the pertinence of some to the subject at hand. The book, on the whole, however, merits commendation in opening up new paths to an understanding of the contribution made to the improvement of health in Chicago and elsewhere.

University of Chicago

BESSIE LOUISE PIERCE

CENTRAL ROUTE TO THE PACIFIC: WITH RELATED MATERIAL ON RAILROAD EXPLORATIONS AND INDIAN AFFAIRS BY EDWARD F. BEALE, THOMAS H. BENTON, KIT CARSON, AND COL. E. A. HITCHCOCK, AND IN OTHER DOCUMENTS, 1853-54. By *Gwinn Harris Heap*. Edited, with an introduction and notes by *LeRoy R.* and *Ann W. Hafen*. [The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875, Volume VII.] (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1957. Pp. 346. \$9.50.) The format of this series crystallized several volumes ago: an editorial introduction briefly identifying the author, the setting, and the subject; a reprinting of the particular opus; and an appendage of related documents, usually drawn from the contemporary press. In this volume there is a variant. The introduction is supplemented by Benton's *Letter to the People of Missouri* (Washington, D. C., 1853) and by a résumé of his speeches at Kansas, Westport, and Independence on May 6 and 7, 1853. This résumé was found in the *Jefferson City Inquirer* of May 28, 1853. As principal fomentor of the Edward F. Beale expedition to chart the thirty-eighth-parallel route, Benton was altogether eligible to set forth the prospectus. He did it with optimism quite unabashed by his son-in-law's tragic failure on this same route in the winter of 1848. Heap's book is a laconic relation of remarkable adventures in a forbidding terrain. Cochetopa Pass proved as easy of access as Benton had promised, and Beale and Heap—stout fellows—do not let on that Benton's figure of seven thousand feet for its altitude was more than three thousand short of reality. The Utes as described are not impressive as ideal customers for a railroad. The mountains and the Grand and the Green are revealed as formidable obstacles, almost enough to explain why 105 years later there are still no rails on the Benton and Pacific. Historically the point of the book is something else—the narrative of adventure and exploration and the description of land and peoples in one of the least accessible parts of the nation.

University of California, Los Angeles

JOHN W. CAUGHEY

ANTE-BELLUM ALABAMA: TOWN AND COUNTRY. By *Weymouth T. Jordan*. [Florida State University Studies, Number 27.] (Tallahassee: Florida State University. 1957. Pp. viii, 172. \$3.00.) Social history sometimes covers so much unfenced territory that one is likely to get lost in a wilderness of miscellaneous facts and figures. In his study of ante bellum Alabama, Professor Jordan, of Florida State University, has avoided this difficulty by making case studies of individual places and people in order to illustrate life as it was lived in the Cotton Kingdom prior to the War for Southern Independence. His work is of particular interest because much of it is based on personal papers still in private possession. The most intriguing item of this nature is the "day book"—a collection of all kinds of domestic and agricultural information—kept for some sixty years by one Martin Marshall who, in a small Alabama town, was weaver and blacksmith as well as planter. One would hardly expect to find such an unorthodox character in the Alabama Black Belt, but this small volume presents a scene which, in many ways, fails to conform to preconceived ideas. It shows that Mobile was a flourishing commercial city, Marion a prosperous agricultural village, that Elisha F. King came to Alabama as an obscure settler in 1819 and rose to a position of

wealth and prominence all by dint of raising cotton. Another newcomer, Daniel Pratt, acquired a handsome fortune by manufacturing cotton gins, and Noah B. Cloud published a highly successful agricultural journal in Montgomery. Of course these men were exceptional, but Pratt could not have made money unless cotton culture had been a profitable business, and Cloud's *American Cotton Planter* would have failed had there not been a widespread interest in scientific farming. In fact, this study leaves one with the distinct impression that cotton planting was a serious and successful business and that cotton planters were not lacking either in industry or sagacity. Jordan has performed a real service in discovering so much virgin material and in presenting it so capably.

University of Virginia

THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY

THE SOUTH IN NORTHERN EYES, 1831 to 1861. By *Howard R. Floan*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 198. \$3.95.) The title of this book is somewhat broader than its content. It is much more a study of literary images of the South than a comprehensive analysis of public opinion. In discussing the chief literary contributions, Floan reveals a sharp regional cleavage between the New England and New York writers. The New Englanders—especially Whittier, Lowell, Longfellow, Emerson, and Thoreau—did not know the South, and their evaluations were based upon their hostility toward slavery. Thus they subordinated the artist to the agitator, and they portrayed the South in stereotypes of evil. This was not true, however, of Bryant, Melville, and Whitman. Not only did the New York men of letters know more about the South and feel greater sympathy for it, but they lived in a metropolitan atmosphere that helped them view America's cultural conflict from a national rather than a regional point of view. In general, these writers distrusted reformers and agitation, and their writings avoided abolitionist distortions of the South and Southerners. Primarily concerned with these divergences, the author has neglected adequate evaluation of the influence of the two literary schools. This problem receives only a few sentences, wherein Floan says that the New England attitude predominated because its concepts were "more vivid, less complex, and more acceptable to the public mind." It would seem that the evidence for this judgment deserves presentation. Moreover, what of the influence of the pulpit, the political forum, the lyceums, the reform societies, and the daily press? In an age of oratory, one wonders how much the influence of the literary men really molded public opinion. Since the New England writers identified the South with its "peculiar institution," Floan also analyzes the propaganda of W. L. Garrison and Wendell Phillips. Though his data reveal the strong influence of "Garrisonism" upon the men of letters, the author nonetheless twice defers to the "recent findings of scholars" which deprecate the importance of Garrison. In the interpretation of New England abolitionism, one might also question the aggrandizement of Phillips at the expense of the Boston editor. For collaborators such as these, the hypothesis is both dubious and rather unimportant. Originally written as a doctoral dissertation, this study is based primarily upon published materials. Floan has thoroughly searched the writings of the major Northern literary figures, and he has carefully built mosaics of each writer's image of the South. The literary style is lucid and effective, and the general perspective is mildly pro-Southern and antiabolitionist.

University of Wisconsin

ROMAN J. ZORN

A. P. HILL, LEE'S FORGOTTEN GENERAL. By *William Woods Hassler*. (Richmond, Va.: Garrett and Massie, Inc. 1957. Pp. xiv, 249. \$3.95.) Volatile Ambrose Powell Hill, whose fierce red beard concealed his youthful thirty-odd years, was one of

Robert E. Lee's outstanding commanders. He was a Confederate "ninety-day wonder"; in that brief time he rose from colonel of the Thirteenth Virginia Infantry Regiment to major general in command of one of the largest divisions in the Army of Northern Virginia. When Lee reorganized the army following the loss of Stonewall Jackson, he made Hill a lieutenant general and gave him command of the Third Corps. Hill led it with varying success through Gettysburg, the Wilderness, and the siege of Petersburg. He was shot through the heart by a Union soldier near Petersburg as he rode recklessly to rally his troops. William Woods Hassler now gives us the first published biography of Hill. It is a sober, straightforward narrative, critical and objective in approach, well organized and clearly written. It is carefully documented, with footnotes at the bottom of the page, and it contains some interesting photographs of Hill and his subordinates. There is even a photograph, an excellent one, of Hill's chief antagonist in the Union Army, Major General Gouverneur K. Warren. But while the book is not without interest for students of the Civil War, it must be said that the author has been handicapped by the meagerness of his man's war letters, and he has not searched widely enough through the personal papers of Hill's military associates to remedy this lack of fresh material. The battles of Lee's army have been recounted many times. So have Hill's quarrels with Longstreet and Jackson. At this late date, any historian who undertakes the biography of one of Lee's lieutenants would be wise to supply himself with larger quantities of fresh, significant manuscript material than Professor Hassler has brought to his task.

University of Colorado

HAL BRIDGES

MANTON MARBLE OF THE NEW YORK *WORLD*. By *Sister Mary Cortona Phelan*. (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1957. Pp. vii, 135. \$1.50.) While this doctoral dissertation briefly covers Manton Marble's life (1835-1917), its intentional emphasis is upon Marble's connections with the New York *World* and the Democratic party. Chief sources are the ninety-five volumes of Marble papers in the Library of Congress and the files of the *World*. Since there is no full-length biography of Marble, the book supplies a need and has much value. Marble got control of the *World* soon after its founding and held it from 1862 to 1874, when he sold it. As editor he was an intellectual leader of the Democrats during the crisis years of Civil War and Reconstruction and seems to have exerted a great deal of influence. He reproached Lincoln for his alleged violations of the Constitution, and he opposed the congressional plan of reconstruction. His paper was briefly suppressed by the Lincoln government for printing a forgery, and one of the interesting documents in the book is a reprint of Marble's letter to Lincoln protesting the seizure. Marble helped to groom Samuel J. Tilden for public office, and he had connections with many other important men in this and foreign countries. His support of the single gold standard, according to the author, was a reason for the decline of his influence.

University of Chattanooga

CULVER H. SMITH

BOURBON LEADER: GROVER CLEVELAND AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. By *Horace Samuel Merrill*. [Library of American Biography.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1957. Pp. viii, 224. \$3.50.) This extremely short biography of Grover Cleveland centers upon his role as the leader of a faction in his party which the author prefers to call the "Bourbons." It is less concerned than Allan Nevins' long life of Cleveland with Cleveland's personal attributes, and it is devoid of footnotes giving authorities for recurrent, sweeping generalizations. While acknowledging his indebtedness to Nevins' work for printed sources, the author in an appended note lists major

manuscript sources that he has used and calls attention to the fact that he and Nevins have reached some very different conclusions from the same evidence. The book bears him out. In general, he depicts Cleveland as a lucky second-rater whose faction retarded the advance of the Democratic party to its later claims to greatness. His critical judgments reflect the same assumptions as those of a New Deal Democrat. He deplores Cleveland's "narrow legalism" when he might have acted as a "pioneering public servant." Sometimes he seems to approve, and sometimes to regret, Cleveland's resort to morality rather than expediency, and vice versa. If the book has a major weakness, it is a tendency to weigh Cleveland's actions by standards that rest upon considerable experience gained subsequently. A minor fault is the apparent confusion of Lord Salisbury with a Lord Balfour as the head of the British government at the time of the Venezuelan boundary controversy. Editing ought to have caught this error.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE F. HOWE

RABBI IN AMERICA: THE STORY OF ISAAC M. WISE. By *Israel Knox*. [Library of American Biography.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1957. Pp. x, 173. \$3.50.) Few men are privileged to see and enjoy the realization of their life's dreams. Isaac Mayer Wise, architect and builder of American Reform Judaism, was one of this select group. At his death in 1900, the three crowning achievements of his life were well-established institutions and had attained positions of influence in the life of America and of American Jewry: the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the association of Reform congregations; the Hebrew Union College (today known as the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, having merged with the latter in 1948), which prepares rabbis for Reform congregations; and the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the association of Reform rabbis. The story of Wise's life is also the story of the development of Reform, or Liberal, Judaism in this country. At the time of his arrival here in 1846, there were only three synagogues in the United States that were not Orthodox—Beth Elohim in Charleston, South Carolina, Har Sinai in Baltimore, and Temple Emanu-El in New York. The factors—theological, sociological, and economic—that helped increase this figure to 530 congregations representing over 255,000 families are described at some length in this book. Briefly, Rabbi Wise found a fertile field for his innovations in Jewish religious practice. He was not here long before he realized that Orthodox Judaism was losing many adherents, due in part to the newly found freedom being enjoyed by the recent European immigrants and their eagerness to adjust to their new environment in America. Religious observance in the Orthodox sense was lax, and the new generation of American Jews was not educated in the traditional Jewish values. Wise sensed a growing discontent with the established forms of Judaism and began to work toward the forging of a new denomination of Judaism, stripped of rituals, prayers, and concepts that seemed to him to have no or little validity for modern times. What he felt was needed was "a Judaism that stood on historic ground and possessed a universal dimension and yet was suited for America and had in it something of the spirit of America." This is a good introduction to the study of the development of Reform Judaism in this country. Dr. Knox, associate professor of philosophy at New York University, has digested his sources well and presents a smoothly written work. The material is well organized, although somewhat top-heavy on the philosophical side.

Library of Congress

ISAAC GOLDBERG

UNCLE JOE CANNON, ARCHFOE OF INSURGENCY: A HISTORY OF THE RISE AND FALL OF CANNONISM. By *William Rea Gwinn*. (New York: Bookman

Associates. 1957. Pp. vii, 314. \$4.00.) Joseph Gurney Cannon in his role as Speaker of the House of Representatives (1903-1911) has become in recent years a subject of renewed interest. In 1951 Blair Bolles published *Tyrant from Illinois*, viewing him from the perspective of a supporter of Robert M. La Follette and seeing in Cannon's defeat by the Insurgents the removal of a major roadblock to the creation of the welfare state. Though his study is not as well written, Gwinn, presenting a conservative point of view, makes no such pretentious claim but arrives at a similar conclusion. The removal of the speaker from the Committee on Rules has been, he suggests, "of material assistance to the Presidents in augmenting their own influence." Tracing Cannon's long congressional career through secondary works, periodicals, newspapers, and manuscript collections (judging from the citations, Cannon's papers at best offer a fragmentary survey of his career), Gwinn fails to integrate his material into a comprehensive analysis of the role of the speaker during the period of Cannon's tenure. Though he presents numerous quotations, he rarely comes to conclusions on the basis of the evidence. *The Congressional Record* is used almost as a last resort when no other source is available; where so much depended on Cannon's management of the House of Representatives, this is a serious deficiency. Thus there is no analysis of Cannon's role in supervising legislation, and Gwinn missed an excellent opportunity to perform a service similar to that of John M. Blum, who in *The Republican Roosevelt* traced the relations of the President with Senate leaders in directing significant bills through Congress. Gwinn, however, points out that until the very end of Theodore Roosevelt's presidency the relations between the two men were cordial and suggests that the President's program rarely ran into serious difficulty in the House of Representatives. In his discussion of the March, 1910, floor fight when Cannon suffered defeat and was removed from the Committee on Rules, Gwinn does not once cite *The Congressional Record*, the basic source of information as to what occurred during those hectic three days. Much of the drama and some of the details are consequently missing from this account. As to the significance of the rules change, Gwinn quotes several political scientists who have concluded that it was not very great, though George W. Norris, the Insurgent leader, was well aware at the time that it would not achieve fundamental reform. In short, while offering a better balanced and more informed account than Blair Bolles, the author did not fully utilize his opportunity to present an incisive study of the rise and fall of Cannonism.

Connecticut College

RICHARD LOWITT

UNITED STATES AND FRENCH SECURITY, 1917-1921: A STUDY IN AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC HISTORY. By *Louis A. R. Yates*. (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc. 1957. Pp. 252. \$4.00.) The influence of the Guarantee Treaties in effecting final agreement on the general settlement at Versailles is the major theme of this monograph. As Professor Yates points out, there has been no detailed work on the treaties or their relationship to the Versailles settlement. The present monograph adequately fills this gap. The author sees the treaties as "a catalyst in resolving the different points of view at Versailles." But in no sense does he mean that the treaties were conceived as a catalyst per se; he does not seem, in short, to share the views of Professors Bemis and Bailey that both Wilson and Clemenceau must have strongly suspected the ultimate fate of the treaty in the Senate. The author portrays the French in deadly earnest and Wilson negotiating in good faith. In the process, Yates is on the whole successful in his aim of showing "the extreme importance of the Guarantee Treaties in resolving the deadlock." "[The United States Senate] by failing to approve either the Versailles Treaty or the Guarantee Treaties . . . placed insurmountable

obstacles in the rough and uncertain path to world peace and long-range stability." Unfortunately, the author's style too often lapses into the overliteral, crossing "t's" and dotting "i's" to a tedious degree. Also, one frequently encounters in the text the remains of the author's mental scaffolding. It is strange that the *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939* do not seem to have been used. Particularly pertinent is the mission of Viscount Grey of Fallodon to Washington from August to December of 1919 (Volume V, 1st series). Paul Mantoux's excellent notes on the Big Four conferences were no doubt published too late to have been examined by the author. Although Yates has uncovered no new material in his study, this is nevertheless a useful monograph. Based on the available published documents, memoirs, and major studies, it brings together in logical form the principal material and focuses attention on the aid pacts as the "all-important bridge" that enabled the great powers to reach agreement at Versailles.

Air University

J. L. BOONE ATKINSON

LABOR AND THE NEW DEAL. Edited by *Milton Derber* and *Edwin Young*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1957. Pp. xi, 393. \$6.00.) Labor specialists from the Universities of Wisconsin and Illinois have joined to present a consideration of several aspects of the relationship between organized labor and the national government during the 1930's. Although they make no pretense of presenting an all-inclusive historical study, the resulting topical discussion in many ways leads to a better understanding than would come from a more nearly chronological presentation. Several group discussions and intragroup criticism of each chapter helped to produce a well-integrated account with documentation, frequent cross reference, and an elimination of the duplication that sometimes mars such efforts. The first chapter by Milton Derber and the short epilogue by Selig Perlman present much of the statistical and historical background essential to an understanding of the changes that took place in organized labor during the depression decade and the significance of those changes for the future of the labor movement. Edwin Young describes the split in the labor movement, defending the CIO but criticizing some of its leaders. An intriguing presentation of the methods used by left-wing political groups in the labor movement, especially in organizing the unemployed, is presented by Bernard Karsh and Phillips L. Garman. In discussing the background and arguments pro and con over the Wagner Act, R. W. Fleming gives the law credit for much of the current status of labor unions. Murray Edelman assesses the sensitivity of various parts of New Deal Washington to labor interests, and Elizabeth Brandeis describes protective labor legislation from a background of personal participation. Edwin E. Witte also had the advantage of much firsthand experience to aid in recounting the growth of the social security program. Richard C. Wilcock describes the changing management policies toward unionism, and Doris E. Pullman and L. Reed Tripp attempt to summarize the developments in collective bargaining. These authors have produced a sympathetic, yet not uncritical, account of the many ways in which the cause of labor was influenced during the New Deal years. Frequently the action came more through the efforts of the friends of labor in government than from pressure originating in the divided house of labor. The various accounts indicate the movement of the CIO toward more job conscious unionism, which facilitated the healing of the schism in the mid-fifties. The contribution of this book is not in producing startling new facts or conclusions but in describing the factors and processes by which organized labor moved from a position of little influence to one of considerable power in less than a decade.

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GEORGE B. ENGBERG

NORTHWEST AFRICA: SEIZING THE INITIATIVE IN THE WEST. By *George F. Howe*. [U. S. Army in World War II: The Mediterranean Theater of Operations.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1957. Pp. xxiii, 748. \$7.75.) This well-documented work traces United States ground operations in the Northwest African campaign of World War II from the initial planning to the fall of Tunisia to the Allies. Air and naval actions are covered insofar as they relate to ground operations. British and French ground operations are described in sufficient detail to round out the picture. Logistics receive rather brief attention presumably because that subject is treated elsewhere in this historical series. Axis strategy and field operations receive adequate treatment, which enhances the value of the work. The involved thread of politico-military relations with the French runs through the narrative. The preinvasion attempt to win over the local French military authorities to the Allied cause is shown to have been a failure partly because insufficient time was available for negotiations to mature. Ground combat, which forms the central theme, is covered in great detail largely from the standpoint of the individual American tactical commanders. The relationship between headquarters planning and tactical execution is clear except possibly during operations in defense of the East and West Dorsals, where it was no doubt sometimes obscure to the tactical commanders themselves. In this initial Allied overseas campaign it was inevitable that disagreements should arise among strategic planners and that friction should develop between commanders of different nationalities. These are fully but objectively discussed, as are also the difficulties encountered in achieving an effective command organization and the failures in leadership. Dr. Howe has made excellent use of the great mass of source material available to him. His book is well balanced, forthright, and free from bias. It makes solid reading and is recommended to the attention of the serious student of military history.

Washington, D. C.

D. O. ELLIOTT

LATIN AMERICA

CHILE THROUGH EMBASSY WINDOWS: 1939-1953. By *Claude G. Bowers*. (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1958. Pp. ix, 375. \$5.00.) The late historical writer, ambassador, and ardent Democrat, Claude G. Bowers, has written an account of his fourteen delightful years as ambassador to Chile. His enthusiasm for Chileans and their pleasant country glows on every page of the rambling story of his long stay in Santiago. His approach is topical. He discusses at length the Chilean people and the qualities, particularly their sense of humor, which endeared them to him. He gives intimate sketches of his relations with Chilean statesmen, such as ex-President Arturo Alessandri, and the men of the Foreign Office, during the trying years before and after the Pearl Harbor attack and through the alarms and confusion of postwar Communist agitations. Interspersed between discussion of church and state relations (amicable), Communist plots, the fruits of the Good Neighbor Policy, American investments in Chile, and sketches of three presidents are chapters on Chilean women, the cities, country estates, and summer resorts. It is a most readable account of cordial relations by an ardent friend and a distinguished writer, whose purpose was to inspire in his countrymen a greater knowledge of and respect for Chile. As a result he was unsparing in his praise, but reserved in his criticisms. There is considerable information of interest to students of Latin American history and government and American foreign policy, even though this was not the author's primary interest. Mr. Bowers, in his justifiable desire to present a pleasant picture of Chilean life to those who are ignorant of the land, even

adopted the Latin American designation of his countrymen as North Americans. To the reviewer this is a step too far. If usage and custom have any validity, the citizens of the United States deserve to be called Americans.

University of Florida

DONALD E. WORCESTER

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AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The 1958 meeting of the American Historical Association will be held at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C., December 28-30. The Council will meet December 27.

New section editors for the lists of articles published by the *Review* are Emiliania Noether, Weston, Massachusetts, for the Italian history list; George C. A. Bohrer, Georgetown University, for the list of articles in Latin American history; and Richard Pipes, Russian Research Center, Harvard University, for the Soviet Union list.

The 1958 *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History Now in Progress at Colleges and Universities in the United States* is now being prepared for publication. It will probably be ready for distribution in the fall. The *List* is constantly kept up to date in the Association office. Departments are urged to continue to list topics as they are approved so that the file in the Association office may be kept current.

The Moses Coit Tyler Prize in American Intellectual History will be offered in 1959 by the American Historical Association, through the generosity of the Cornell University Press. The prize, consisting of \$1,500 and publication by the Cornell University Press, will be awarded for the best complete original manuscript (which must be the author's first or second book) submitted in English on American intellectual history, understood broadly. The offer invites histories of movements of thought and of the recognized institutions or agencies of intellectual life and biographies or studies of intellectual leaders. Studies in the history of the arts and sciences, and in religious, economic, political, educational, or other topical ideas, are all sought on condition that these studies relate to the general history of American culture and events and concern the area of the present United States during the years since 1607. Two copies of the manuscript must be submitted no later than June 1, 1959. All manuscripts and all correspondence relating to the Moses Coit Tyler Prize should be addressed to: Professor Charles A. Barker, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore 18, Maryland.

LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

The Library of Congress has received, as a gift from Mrs. Schwellenbach, approximately 5,400 papers of Lewis Baxter Schwellenbach, U. S. Senator from Washington (1935-40), federal judge of the eastern district of Washington (1940-45), and secretary of labor under President Truman (1945-48). The papers

contain correspondence from 1936 to 1946, scrapbooks for the years 1936-39 and 1945-47, and a file of speeches.

A small group, apparently the only surviving group, of papers of Frank Harris Hitchcock (1869-1935), who served as President Taft's campaign manager and as his postmaster general from 1909-13, has been given to the Library by his niece, Mrs. Byron T. Olson. The papers, concerned with his later years when he had resumed the practice of law, consist of daily journal notes, 1928-35, and a small amount of correspondence.

Lt. Gen. Paul M. Robinett has presented about 1,100 of his papers. These include correspondence for the years 1943-45, during which he was commanding general of Combat Command B, First Armored Division, and commandant of the Armored School at Fort Knox; a file of the general's speeches on military subjects, 1943-57; and orders and training material on the North African campaign in World War II.

The Library has received approximately 2,500 papers from Mrs. Wilson as an addition to the Woodrow Wilson collection. The gift includes letters and copies of letters and despatches sent to the White House during the critical period before America entered World War I, to many of which are attached notes bearing the President's comments on the situations they covered; and selections from Mrs. Wilson's correspondence from 1893 to 1924.

Significant additions have been made to a number of other groups of papers in the Library: to the U. S. Grant papers, thirty-six volumes of headquarters records, 1861-66; to the papers of Willie P. Mangum (1792-1861), Whig Senator from North Carolina, approximately 4,000 papers dated 1820-50; and to the Charles Henry Brent papers about 1,500 pieces, most of which relate to Bishop Brent's years in the Philippine Islands and in western New York (1901-26). Smaller groups include a segment of some 350 papers of William Warland Clapp (1826-91), long-time editor of the *Boston Journal*; about 200 papers of Stuart M. Crocker, relating to his service as secretary to the American delegations of experts on the Reparation Commissions of 1924 and 1929; and about 230 letters addressed by Edward Everett Hale (1822-1909) to relatives and friends after 1850.

The May, 1958, issue of the Library of Congress *Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions* contains an article on the William Gibbs McAdoo papers, a catalog of the Library's Theodore Roosevelt centennial exhibit, and a comprehensive report on materials added to the holdings of the Manuscript Division during 1957.

The National Archives and Records Service reports that on January 24 the Rockefeller Foundation granted \$48,700 to the Harry S. Truman Library Institute for the purchase of publications and other reference materials to supplement the papers of the former President in the Truman Library. The funds will be devoted to building up the library especially in the two subject fields where the Truman papers have their greatest relevance and usefulness: (1) the office of the President

of the United States, particularly in the contemporary period, and (2) the foreign relations of the United States, especially since 1900. Among other materials, the Library will acquire a complete set of the National Archives microfilm publications on foreign relations (1789-1906) and a microfilmed set of the documents of the United Nations (1945-53). In February the Democratic National Committee presented to Mr. Truman for deposit in his library a copy of the microfilm edition of the Adams papers.

The National Archives in Washington has recently added to its holdings several valued small items from the scanty existing documentation of federal labor agencies in the nineteenth century: about ninety letter-press and scrapbook volumes of correspondence, orders, circulars, forms, and other records of the predecessors of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, dating from 1884; and two letter-press volumes of outgoing correspondence (the only known records except a published report) of the United States Strike Commission, appointed by President Cleveland to investigate the 1894 Pullman strike. The National Archives already has the surviving records (two volumes of minutes) of the United States Industrial Commission of 1898-1902 and a number of unpublished reports and studies of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, 1912-15.

Other significant recent acquisitions are the general correspondence of the Office of the Secretary of Commerce, 1903-50; the records of the United States Circuit Court and the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, 1863-1904; the closed case files relating to disputes between the United States and Canada brought before the International Joint Commission, 1912-30; the unpublished minutes of the Board on Organization of the Coast Survey, 1843, and the original copy of William Tatham's report on the survey of the coast of North Carolina from Cape Fear to Cape Hatteras, 1806; the records of the Congressional Commission on Government Security, 1955-57.

Among the titles added to the list of National Archives microfilm publications are the Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs from the Arkansas Superintendency and from the Alaska, Apalachicola, Blackfeet, Cheyenne and Arapahoe, Cheyenne River, Chippewa, Council Bluffs, Devils Lake, La Pointe, Osage, Osage River, Otoe, Pawnee, Prairie du Chien, Sac and Fox, St. Peter's, Seminole, Spotted Tail, Standing Rock, Upper Missouri, Upper Platte, Whetstone, and Winnebago Agencies (47 additional rolls); the Revolutionary War Muster Rolls, 1775-83 (57 additional rolls); Lists of Passengers Arriving at New York, 1855-68 (142 rolls); the Consolidated Index to Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers (535 rolls); and numerous special indexes to Compiled Service Records.

Other publications include the Annual Report on the National Archives and Records Service for the year ending June 30, 1957, reprinted from the Report of the Administrator of General Services; Preliminary Inventory No. 102, covering the records of the Rationing Department of the Office of Price Administration; and pamphlets to accompany the microfilms of the Indexes to Compiled Service

Records, the Interior Department Territorial Papers for the Territory of Washington, Letters Sent by the Governors and the Secretary of State of California, 1847-48, and the Publications of the National Archives. These publications may be obtained on request from the Exhibits and Publications Branch, National Archives, Washington 25, D. C.

Since the beginning of its operations in September, 1956, the American Historical Association's Committee for the Study of War Documents has filmed at the Military Records Branch, Federal Records Center, Alexandria, Virginia, more than 1,300,000 frames of captured German records. Included in the filmed materials are the following: (1) extensive records of the NSDAP dealing with the early history of the party as well as the organization and activities of both the party and its affiliated organizations on all levels during the years of Hitler's rule; (2) records of the Reichskommissar für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums pertaining to German resettlement activities in World War II and of the Reichskommissar für die *Wiedervereinigung* [sic] Oesterreichs mit dem Deutschen Reich; (3) files of the Organisation Todt; (4) in the economic field, extensive files of the Reichswirtschaftsministerium, the Statistische Reichsamt and the Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft; (5) in the cultural field, records of party-dominated research and educational institutions such as the "Sven Hedin"-Reichsinstitut für Innerasienforschung, the Deutsche Akademie, Munich, the Akademie für deutsches Recht, and the Deutsch-japanische Gesellschaft; (6) several small but valuable groups of documents of leading personalities, including Hitler, Göring, Himmler, and Ritter von Epp; (7) records of various provenance pertaining to German interests in the Far East covering the prewar and World War II periods, certain high-level German military records, and correspondence of the Japanese military attaché in Berlin; and (8) records of the Communist party organization in the Smolensk Oblast. Most of the microfilms prepared by the AHA committee are already deposited in the National Archives and available for private research. Data sheets identifying the documents and containing information necessary for locating the materials on film are available in the National Archives in the original and on a special film. Scholars who wish to use this material should direct inquiries to the Exhibits and Publications Branch, National Archives, Washington 25, D. C.

The "Mayor's Court Papers," a collection of some of New York's earliest historical documents, have been acquired by the Columbia University Libraries. The papers—nearly 2,000 court records from New York City's historic Mayor's Court—were a gift from the estate of the late Dr. Benjamin Salzar, New York neurologist and collector of manuscripts. Dating from 1681 to 1819, the papers are of interest to both legal and social historians because they include factual detail as background for court litigation.

The Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, has received the gift of Don Pablo Parkman of Guanajuato, Mexico, which includes papers of

the Parkman family. Samuel P. Parkman, grandfather of the donor, was clerk to the Rocky Mountain fur trader and explorer, Jedediah Smith.

A committee of some of the friends and colleagues of the late John Bartlet Brebner, Gouverneur Morris Professor of History at Columbia University, has undertaken to provide a memorial to him. It is proposed to raise a fund of upwards of \$10,000, the income from which will be used to purchase primary research materials not otherwise available in this country. This collection, to be kept in the Columbia University Library, will include, mostly in microfilm, manuscripts, newspapers, and other documents in the three fields of Professor Brebner's own scholarly interests: Canadian history, English constitutional and legal history, and the history of Britain since 1750. Inquiries and contributions may be sent to Professor R. K. Webb, Hamilton Hall, Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

OTHER HISTORICAL MEETINGS

A Conference Group for Central European History was organized by approximately fifty scholars at an organizational meeting held in New York on December 28, 1957. The elected officers are: Hans Kohn, chairman; William O. Shanahan, vice-chairman; Arthur May and Hajo Holborn, board members; and Oron J. Hale, secretary-treasurer. Scholars interested in belonging to the Conference Group are invited to send their names to Oron J. Hale, Department of History, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia.

The American Studies Association held its annual meeting in New York on December 30, 1957. Willard Thorp, Princeton University, was elected president and Ray A. Billington, Northwestern University, vice-president. Hennig Cohen, University of Pennsylvania, succeeded Anthony N. B. Garvan, University of Pennsylvania, as editor of *American Quarterly*, ASA journal, effective January 1, 1958.

The Society for the History of Technology was organized by the national Advisory Committee for Technology and Society, at its meeting at Case Institute of Technology, Cleveland, on January 30-31. The new organization is devoted to the study of the development of technology and its relations with society and culture. As its first program, the Society cosponsored the meeting of the Humanistic-Social Division of the American Society for Engineering Education, held at the University of California, Berkeley, June 16-17. Beginning in the fall of 1959, the Society will publish a quarterly journal, *Technology and Culture*, to be edited by Melvin Kranzberg. Inquiries regarding the Society should be sent to Professor Kranzberg, Department of Humanities and Social Studies, Case Institute of Technology, Cleveland, Ohio.

The Society for French Historical Studies held its annual conference at Duke University and the University of North Carolina on January 31 and February 1,

1958. The president of the Society, Professor Harold Parker of Duke University, and the vice-president, Professor James L. Godfrey of the University of North Carolina, headed the committee on the program and local arrangements. The next conference will be held in the spring of 1959 at Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio. Professor John Hall Stewart of Western Reserve University was elected president of the Society for the coming year and Professor Melvin Kranzberg of the Case Institute of Technology, vice-president. Information on membership in the Society or on the next meeting may be had by application to the secretary-treasurer, Professor David H. Pinkney, 318 Jesse Hall, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

The State of Wisconsin Historical Society was host to the fourth annual meeting of the Midwestern Conference on Business History at Madison, Wisconsin, on February 15, 1958. This meeting, devoted to the topic of business problems created by regulation, was attended by representatives of universities, public service commissions, and public utility firms. Information about future meetings may be obtained from A. K. Steigerwalt, School of Business Administration, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

The first Missouri Valley Conference of Collegiate Teachers of History was held on March 14-15 at Omaha under the auspices of the Department of History in cooperation with the Conference Division of the College of Adult Education of the University of Omaha. Among the speakers were John D. Hicks of the University of California (Berkeley), Colonel Edward C. Dunn of the United States Army Command and General Staff College, and George L. Anderson of the University of Kansas.

The International Commission of the History of Social Movements and Social Structure held a meeting March 24-26 at Strasbourg. Participants read papers on the history of labor movements in various countries—the United States, Soviet Union, Sweden, Norway, Holland (and Belgium), Germany, France, Italy, Mexico, and Britain. Among those attending were Professors Joel Colton of Duke University, John T. Dunlop of Harvard University, Walter Galenson of the University of California (Berkeley), and Val Lorwin of the University of Oregon.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association annual meeting was held in Minneapolis, Minnesota, on April 24-26. The following officers were elected: William T. Hutchison, University of Chicago, president; Frederick Merk, Harvard University, vice-president; John Hope Franklin, Brooklyn College, Richard Leopold, Northwestern University, and Gilbert Fite, University of Oklahoma, Council members.

The Institute of Ethnic Studies, Georgetown University, held its first annual Roundtable Conference on April 25-26 in Washington, D. C. Koppel S. Pinson, Queens College, delivered one of the historical papers on the theme "Nationalism

in Our Divided World." The Institute, of which Dr. Tibor Kerekes is executive director, maintains a roster of internationally recognized scholars in the field of ethnic studies. It has been established as an intellectual bulwark against Communist ideology.

GRANTS, AWARDS, PRIZES

The American Council of Learned Societies has received a grant of \$500,000 from the Ford Foundation for a program to encourage international scholarly congresses to meet in the United States. International congresses in the humanities and the social sciences will be supported by these funds over a period of five to ten years. The grant will be administered by the ACLS in cooperation with the Social Science Research Council. Selections under the grant will be restricted to broadly significant multinational conferences which have the official sponsorship of a constituent society member of the ACLS or the SSRC. The major part of the fund will be used to defray travel costs of foreign scholars to the conferences.

Harvard University has received a grant of \$200,000 from the Carnegie Corporation for research on the history of liberty in America.

The American Council of Learned Societies has awarded grants-in-aid for research in history for 1958-59 to the following: James E. Duffy, Brandeis University, history of Portuguese Africa; Eugene F. Rice, Jr., Cornell University, critical edition of prefatory epistles of Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples; and Norman P. Zacour, University of Pennsylvania, life and career of Cardinal Talleyrand de Périgord. Funds for the ACLS award program were made available by the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation.

Sydney N. Fisher, Ohio State University, has received a grant for research in Turkey on the place and development of democracy in Turkey since 1923, from the Committee on the Near and Middle East of the Social Science Research Council.

The Ford Foundation has announced 180 fellowship awards for training to improve American understanding and competence in foreign and international affairs. The following received fellowships in the field of history: Patrick L. Alston, University of California, Berkeley; Thomas Naff, University of California, Berkeley; Thomas Riha, Harvard; James E. Sheridan, University of California, Berkeley; James B. Crowley, Michigan; Daniel R. Brower, Columbia; Robert M. Hartwell, Chicago; John E. Peterson, Northwestern; Allan K. Wildman, Chicago; Norman E. Saul, Columbia; Theofanis G. Stavrou, Indiana; E. Joan Smythe, Radcliffe; Norman R. Bennett, Boston; David M. Farquhar, Harvard; Thomas J. Hegarty, Harvard; Warren Lerner, Columbia; John W. Spellman, London; Marlene J. Mayo, Columbia; Jaroslav J. Verner, Columbia; Albert E. Dien, Uni-

versity of California, Berkeley; Robert L. Irick, Harvard; Ernest P. Young, Harvard; Richard C. Howard, Columbia; Richard H. Jeanneret, St. Peter's College; Deena R. Schorr, Radcliffe; Robert M. Slusser, Hoover Institution; Paul H. Avrich, Columbia; Robert M. Haddad, Harvard; John W. Israel, Harvard; Norman Itzkowitz, Princeton; Ira M. Lapidus, Harvard; Mark Mancall, Harvard; Elinor A. Murray, Columbia; Frederick J. Piotrow, U. S. Navy; Helma Repczuk, Hunter College; Frances R. Weinberg, Columbia; Bernard S. Silberman, Oberlin; William F. Morton, Columbia; Anthony G. Netting, Reed College; David T. Roy, Harvard; John R. W. Smail, Cornell; Robert G. Carlton, Syracuse; Myra M. Bergman, Radcliffe; Michael Gasster, Washington; Anna M. Cienciala, Indiana; Jean M. Touchette, Harvard; Douglas M. Young, Memorial University of Newfoundland; Philip D. Curtin, Wisconsin.

Applications for the 1959-60 academic year, in certain categories, will be accepted until November 1, 1958. Information about the fellowships may be obtained from the Ford Foundation, Foreign Area Training Fellowships, 477 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York.

The Trustees of the Henry E. Huntington Library have announced the following grants-in-aid in history for the year beginning July 1, 1958: John A. Hawgood, University of Birmingham, edition of Oliver Thomas Larkin letters and documents; Peter Laslett, Trinity College, Cambridge, the social structure of seventeenth-century England; Earl Pomeroy, University of Oregon, a history of the Pacific coast states; Ramon E. Ruiz, Smith College, an edition of the Mexican diaries of William Marshall Anderson; Clark C. Spence, Pennsylvania State University, a study of the western mineral frontier and its promotion at home and abroad.

The Society of American Historians has announced that Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Harvard University, was awarded the Francis Parkman Prize for 1957 for his book *The Crisis of the Old Order, 1919-1933*.

Carl H. Chrislock has received the Solon J. Buck Award of the Minnesota Historical Society for 1957, for his article on "The Alliance Party and the Minnesota Legislature of 1891," published in the September, 1957, issue of *Minnesota History*. The award is given each year to the author of the best article appearing in the Society's quarterly, and anyone writing in the field of Minnesota and Northwest history may compete.

The Agricultural History Society, in cooperation with the University of Illinois Press, offers an annual award for the best book manuscript dealing with a subject in agricultural history, interpreted broadly. Winner of the 1958 award is Harry James Brown of Michigan State University for his manuscript entitled "Letters from a Texas Ranch, Written in the Years 1860 and 1867 by George Wilkins Kendall to Henry Stephens Randall," which will be published this year by the

University of Illinois Press. Manuscripts for the next award should be submitted before January 1, 1959. Rules and application forms may be obtained from: C. Clyde Jones, Editor, *Agricultural History*, 112 David Kinley Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association announces that the submittal deadline for manuscripts in its award competition for Studies in American History is now August 31, 1958. For detailed information write to Professor Chase Mooney, Department of History, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

Harvard University has announced a prize of \$3,000 for the best book on the history of religion accepted within the next four years for publication by Harvard University Press. It is the first in a series of contests to be held every four years for authors of outstanding books in the fields of the natural and social sciences.

The American Association of University Women offers forty fellowships for women for 1959-60. The fellowships, ranging from \$2,000 to \$4,000, are open to American women who show distinction or promise of distinction in their chosen fields and who already hold the doctorate or have fulfilled all the requirements except the dissertation. The AAUW also offers international fellowships of \$2,000. The application deadline is December 1, 1958, and application forms may be obtained from Associate, AAUW Fellowship Program, 1634 Eye Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

PUBLICATIONS

The Woodrow Wilson Foundation is sponsoring the publication of a comprehensive edition of Woodrow Wilson's letters and papers. The editor will be Professor Arthur Link of Northwestern University and the associate editor, John W. Davidson of Washington, D. C.

The United States Navy Department has announced plans to collect and publish the documents relating to the naval and maritime history of the American Revolution. Mr. William Bell Clark will edit the work. Anyone possessing or knowing of unpublished letters, diaries, reports, ships' logs, and other naval documents for the years 1775-85 may make such material or information available to the Director of Naval History, Navy Department, Washington 25, D. C. Material submitted will be on loan and will be returned.

The Middle East Institute of Japan began publication of *Chûto-Kenkyû* (The Middle East Studies) in 1957. Address inquiries to No. 61-2 Gokan, Sangiin-Kaikan, Nagatacho, Chiyodaku, Tokyo.

The new journal of world affairs, *Orbis*, completed a year of publication with the appearance of Volume I, Number 4, Winter, 1958. The journal is published by the Foreign Policy Research Institute at the University of Pennsylvania.

The first number of *French Historical Studies*, to be published annually, will appear in the fall of 1958. The journal is under the supervision of the Publication Committee of the Society for French Historical Studies, composed of Lynn M. Case, chairman, Beatrice F. Hyslop, Edward W. Fox, and Harold T. Parker. The Editorial Board consists of Crane Brinton, William F. Church, David H. Pinkney, George V. Taylor, Martin Wolfe, Gordon Wright, and Marvin L. Brown, Jr., editor. Requests for information and subscriptions should be sent to The Editor, *French Historical Studies*, 112 Winston Hall, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, North Carolina.

OTHER HISTORICAL NEWS

According to the *Occupational Outlook Handbook* for 1957 (United States Department of Labor), roughly 6,000–7,000 persons, exclusive of high school teachers, were employed as historians in 1956. About 80 per cent of the historians were employed in colleges and universities and about 10 per cent in governmental agencies. The *Handbook* expects that employment of historians in college teaching will “increase moderately,” during the balance of this decade and “more rapidly during the 1960’s,” that “an average of 500 new instructors will probably be needed annually to teach new classes” and for teacher replacements, and that fewer than 100 new historians will be required to fill other vacancies.

According to *Higher Education* (published by the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare), of March, 1958, the mean salaries (ten months) for professors in four-year colleges and universities varied from \$8,940 to \$5,780 depending upon whether the institution was a university, liberal arts college, or teachers college in public or private categories. For associate professors the range of median salaries was from \$6,980 to \$5,430; for assistant professors, \$6,020 to \$4,760; for instructors, \$4,970 to \$4,110. During the past three years, according to this source, faculty salaries have increased about 20 per cent, a rate less than that of professional salaries generally, and constituting “only a slight gain on the loss in purchasing power during the past 25 years.”

PERSONAL

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES¹

University of Akron: David C. Riede promoted to assistant professor. *American University*: Dorothy D. Gondos promoted to Professor; Albert D. Mott, of the University of Maryland, appointed assistant professor. *Boston College*: Carlton J. H. Hayes, professor emeritus at Columbia University, will lecture during the fall term. *Brandeis University*: Leonard W. Levy, first incumbent of the Earl Warren Chair in American History, appointed associate dean of faculty and

¹ The *Review* prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session appointments, completed temporary appointments, or honorary degrees and citations.

director of the graduate school. *University of California* (Berkeley): Charles Grier Sellers, Jr., of Princeton University, appointed to staff. *Carnegie Institute of Technology*: Roy W. Curry and Hugo A. Meier promoted to associate professors. *Cornell University*: Edward W. Fox promoted to professor; David B. Davis promoted to associate professor.

Harvard University: Samuel H. Baron, of Grinnell College, awarded a fellowship in East Asian Studies for the academic year 1958-59. *Hunter College*: Lawanda Cox promoted to associate professor; Donald Harvey promoted to assistant professor. *Kent State University* (Ohio): A. Sellew Roberts retired as head of the history department, to be succeeded by William N. Wannemacher; William Coulter, James Irikura, and John A. Forman appointed instructors; Robert A. Archer awarded a Danforth teacher grant to resume work on his doctorate at Harvard University. *Lock Haven State Teachers College* (Pennsylvania): George D. Wolf appointed associate professor. *University of Maryland*: Wesley M. Gewehr, chairman of the department of history since 1940, retired, to be succeeded by Aubrey C. Land, of the University of Nebraska. *Merrimack College* (North Andover, Massachusetts): William D. Hoyt, Jr., of Loyola College, Baltimore, Maryland, appointed associate professor. *University of Michigan*: Arthur E. R. Boak on retirement furlough. *University of Pennsylvania*: Arthur P. Whitaker on leave of absence to produce a study of Spain in current international affairs for the Council on Foreign Relations in New York.

Salem College: James F. Stevenson appointed assistant professor. *San Francisco State College*: Ray Alden Kelch appointed assistant professor. *San Jose State College*: H. Brett Melendy appointed head of the history department. *Southern Illinois University*: George W. Adams, of the Salzburg Seminar in American Studies, appointed professor and chairman of the history department. *State University of Utrecht*: Pieter Geyl retired from his professorship. He is an honorary member of the American Historical Association. *University of Virginia*: Dumas Malone, on sabbatical leave from Columbia University during academic year 1958-59, will be visiting professor to devote himself to his biography of Jefferson. He will retire from Columbia to become Thomas Jefferson Foundation Professor of History beginning in 1959-60. *University of Wisconsin*: Fred H. Harrington became vice president for academic affairs. *Yale University*: Ralph H. Gabriel retired as Sterling Professor of History.

RECENT DEATHS

Mrs. Emily Ellsworth Ford Skeel died in Pasadena, California, on February 7, at the age of ninety-one. She was a younger sister of Paul Leicester Ford and Worthington Chauncey Ford and, like her brothers, an accomplished editor and bibliographer. She produced two massive works of much value for American biography. The first, *Mason Locke Weems, His Works and Ways*, is a three-volume work published in 1928-29. It contains a bibliography of Weems, begun

by her brother Paul, with whom she had collaborated until his death, and the letters from Weems to his publisher, Mathew Carey of Philadelphia, who was also a book dealer. Weems was a traveling salesman for Carey along the southeastern seaboard from 1794 to 1825 and the letters, skillfully edited, throw much light on Weems as an author and on the literary tastes of the communities he covered. The second work, completed just before Mrs. Skeel's death, with the editorial aid of Edwin H. Carpenter, is a *Bibliography of the Writings of Noah Webster* (Mrs. Skeel's grandfather). It is a vast work and is being published by the New York Public Library. Mrs. Skeel was a woman of gracious manners and much generosity, whose wealth enabled her to make her research exhaustive.

Leonard D. White, Ernest DeWitt Burton Distinguished Service Professor in public administration at the University of Chicago, died on February 23, in Chicago. Born in 1891, Dr. White received B.S., M.A., and Litt.D. degrees from Dartmouth, the Ph.D. degree from the University of Chicago, and an honorary LL.D. from Princeton. He taught government and political science at Clark and at Dartmouth before joining the faculty of the University of Chicago in 1920, where he rose to the position of chairman of the political science department.

His death occurred shortly before the publication of *The Republican Era, 1869-1901*, the fourth volume in his history of the federal government from 1789 to 1901. The other three books in his series tracing the evolution of our system of government are *The Federalists, 1789-1801*, *The Jeffersonians, 1801-1829*, and *The Jacksonians, 1829-1861*.

Frederick Louis Nussbaum, professor emeritus of European history at the University of Wyoming, died on February 24, 1958. Born November 22, 1885, at Apple Creek, Ohio, he received his B.A. degree in 1906 at Cornell and his Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1915. After teaching at Northwestern, Temple, and the University of Southern California, he joined the faculty of the University of Wyoming in 1925. He taught at Wyoming until his retirement in 1956.

His major publications were *Commercial Policy in the French Revolution: A Study of the Career of G. J. A. Ducher* (1923); *A History of the Economic Institutions of Modern Europe: An Introduction to Der Moderne Kapitalismus of Werner Sombart* (1933); and *The Triumph of Science and Reason, 1660-1685* (1953). He also published many articles and reviews.

He was an active member of the American Historical Association, regularly attending its meetings and making several contributions to the programs at these meetings. He served a term on the board of editors of the *Journal of Modern History* and two terms on the Council of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association.

Gaudens Megaro, professor of European history at Queens College and an authority on Italian history and nationalism, died in New York, March 13, 1958,

at the age of fifty-five. Born in Newark, New Jersey, he graduated from the University of Michigan in 1924. He received a Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1930 and a LL.B. in 1931. After extended research in Italy in the 1920's and 1930's, he wrote *Mussolini in the Making* (1938), acclaimed as a major publishing event of the decade. Other works include *Vittorio Alfieri, Forerunner of Italian Nationalism* (1930) and *Mussolini, Dal Mito Alla Realtà* (1947). A lifelong student of English constitutional history, he edited the posthumous study by Edward Raymond Turner on *The Cabinet Council of England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (1932). During World War II he was selected to head the Italian section of the Office of Strategic Services, serving in this post from 1941 to 1945. Until his death he had served for many years as the section editor for the list of articles in Italian history in the *American Historical Review*. He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa and a fellow of the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain.

A profound scholar, brilliant and incisive in the classroom and in academic service, Professor Megaro made a signal contribution to undergraduate and graduate studies at Queens College. His influence on students was deep and abiding. A vigorous foe of totalitarianism in any guise and of intellectuals who openly or covertly supported it, he was engaged in recent years in a searching examination of authoritarian tendencies in world literature of the twentieth century. His death deprives the fraternity of American historians of an outstanding specialist in the modern field.

Carlos E. Castañeda, an authority in Latin American history and member of the University of Texas faculty, died April 4 in Austin, Texas, at the age of sixty-one. He was a member of the American Historical Association from 1939.

Henry Fowles Pringle, journalist and biographer, died in Washington, D. C., on April 7, 1958, at the age of sixty. A graduate of Cornell University, he was a reporter for the New York *Sun*, a member of the staff of the New York *Globe* and the New York *World*, associate editor of the *Outlook*, and professor of journalism at Columbia University. He was chief of the Publications Division, Office of War Information, at the outbreak of World War II. His book, *Theodore Roosevelt, A Biography*, won a Pulitzer Prize in 1931. He also wrote biographies of William Howard Taft and Alfred E. Smith.

COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I am glad to note that Mrs. Dorothy Mackay Quynn, writing in your quarterly (October, 1957, p. 194), finds my book, *L'Affaire du Masque de Napoléon*, "convincing and interesting." For this I am grateful, and I infer that she accepts my thesis. But, somehow, her summary misses the real point at issue and is apt, therefore, to mislead the American student of Napoleon.

The interest of this study lies not so much in the dispute between the two surgeons involved or in "the confused and complicated story" of any particular cast, but far more in the effigy itself, which, because it differs from his portraits, has baffled the emperor's iconographers for over a century. The conventional mask, attributed to Burton and Antommarchi, remains contested (one writer sees in it a moulage of Napoleon's butler, who died in 1818), and the question is further complicated by the existence of other alleged masks of the emperor (neither of these facts is mentioned by your reviewer). The cardinal issue is, therefore: Are we dealing with a "portrait in plaster" of Napoleon—or a fake? My book is an attempt to answer that question, that is, to reassess the mask as a presentment of Napoleon. I would add that the Burghersh cast, now at the Invalides, has brought new light to the problem, in that its appearance corroborates a theory first suggested by a study of Napoleonic iconography.

As regards the footnotes, the abbreviation *op. cit.* is used to obviate the tedious repetition of a title once given, and the *author* is invariably mentioned on the page annotated. This, I think, disposes of your reviewer's statement that "unfortunately, the footnotes are chaotic, particularly because of frequent use of *op. cit.* with no clue as to author or title cited."

Surrey, England

EUGÈNE DE VEAUCE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In the two hundred words allotted, it was impossible to comment on all aspects. It seemed, and seems, to the reviewer that for the "American student of Napoleon," or the general reader, the most interesting aspect was that mentioned in the preface: "Les nouveaux possesseurs du masque . . . voulurent en éclairer la filiation, en retracer minutieusement l'histoire. . . . Telles furent l'occasion et l'origine de l'étude qu'il publie aujourd'hui." An iconographer might have chosen another emphasis. It would have helped if the author had stated his "cardinal issue" more briefly and clearly.

"As regards the footnotes," I quote from two pages only:

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- 8. *Op. cit.*, p. 8.
- 9. *Op. cit.*, p. 188, note.
- 10. Cf. *infra*, p. 201.
- 11. *Op. cit.*, *ibid.*

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- 13. *Op. cit.*, p. 12.
- 14. Cf. *infra*, p. 169, note 12.
- 15. *Op. cit.*, p. 160.

Notes 8 and 9 refer to "Watson." The bibliography, page 224, gives two Watsons, one with two books, one with one. Which *Opus* is cited, and which Watson? Note 11 refers to "Antommarchi"—two are listed, with five items between them, the fifth being in a book by one of the Watsons. Does "*Op. cit.*, *ibid.*" mean note 9, or note 10 (Burton)? Does note 13 refer to Watson or the *Times*? For this last we must return to the *preceding* page, with note 12 intervening. Does note 15 direct us to Masson or to Antommarchi?

The answers may usually be worked out laboriously by referring backwards and forwards and by re-reading passages with notes. A first impression tempts one to use for the notes the quotation which the writer of the preface applied not to the style but to the problem: "Ténébreuse affaire" s'il en fut."

Frederick, Maryland

DOROTHY MACKAY QUINN


EDITOR'S NOTE

This historian on September 1 will complete five years as Managing Editor of the *Review*. He has often heard that the *Review* has a great backlog of articles and that publication in the *Review* takes years. The *Review* is now receiving manuscripts at the rate of about two hundred a year. Acceptance or rejection of articles usually takes about two to six weeks. In general, the longer the *Review* holds an article, the more serious is the consideration being given it. No manuscript has been held more than three months, and this length of time elapsed only because the three readers needed that time. After acceptance, publication usually comes in nine to twelve months. There has never been a great backlog of articles. The *Review* has always had on hand articles to fill the next two or three issues, and that is all. At this time the *Review* could particularly use essays in most fields of history and especially in early American history, in early modern history, and bibliographical review articles about most major fields.

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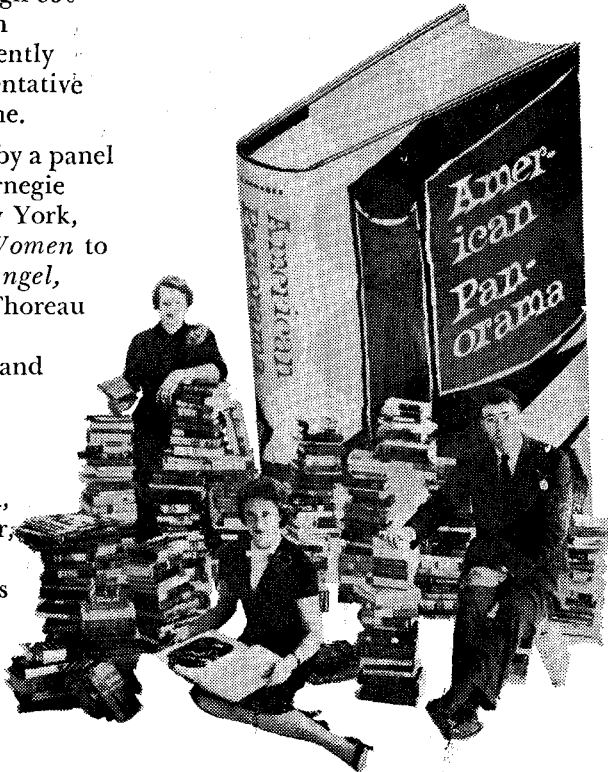
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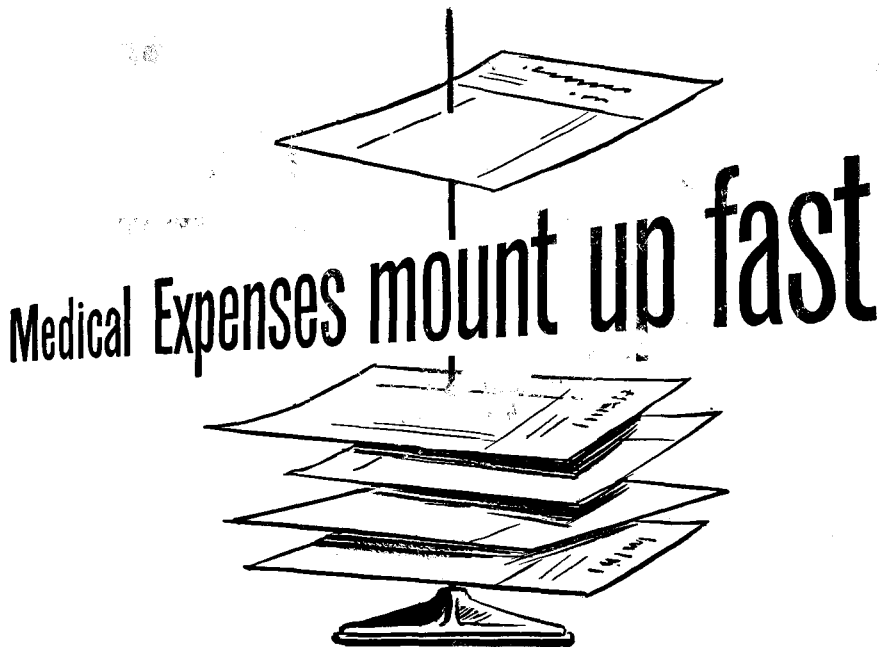
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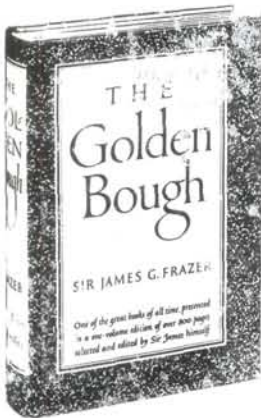
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